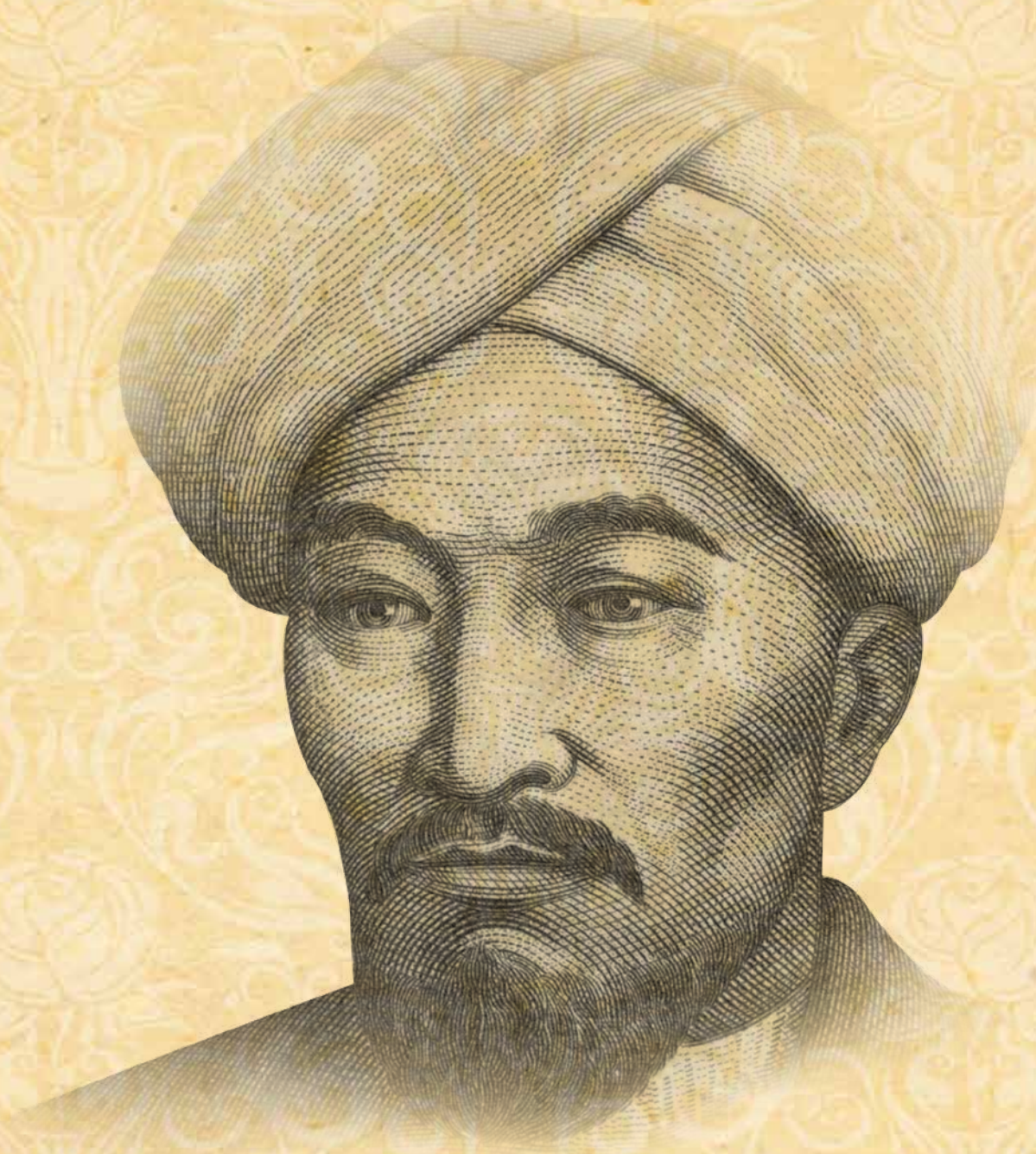




*An Al-Farabi portrait according to Kazakh artists*

AL-FARABÎ A CIVILIZATION PHILOSOPHER

Cover Design/Page Setup  
Bülent Avnamak

Edition/Volume  
xx

1st Edition, Istanbul, September 2015  
ISBN xxxx



Istanbul International Civilization Studies Center (MED-AR)  
T +90 216 350 33 49  
www.med-ar.org • info@med-ar.org

*All rights belong to the editor.*

**PROF. DR. BEKİR KARLIĞA**  
**Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister and Chairman of the National  
Coordination Committee (Turkey) for the Alliance of Civilizations**

# **AL-FARABİ**

## **A CIVILIZATION PHILOSOPHER**

**TÜRK ESKİSEHIR TURKIC WORLD FOUNDATION  
AND  
ISTANBUL INTERNATIONAL CIVILIZATION STUDIES CENTER PUBLICATIONS  
(MED-AR)**





*View from Otrar Fortress, the famous  
capital of Farab Region, Kazakhstan*



*An old view of Hoca Ahmed Yesevi Mausoleum in Turkistan*

## PREFACE

Ebu Nasr Muhammed ibn Muhammed ibn Tarhan or Turhan ibn Uzluğ al-Fârâbî, known in Medieval Islamic World as Muallim-i Sani, and in Medieval Latin World as Magister Secundus, namely second and greatest teacher of philosophy after Aristotle, is undoubtedly the symbol personage of the Turkic World, establishing leader of philosophical thought in Islamic World, and one of the few philosophers who woke the Western World from the Scholastic slumber it had fallen into.

As well as being the pioneer of philosophy of civilization with his works titled *The Virtuous City* (el-Medinetü'l-Fâdıla), *Civil Politics* (es-Siyasetü'l-Medeniyye) and *On the Philosophy of Politics* (el-Fusulü'l-Medeni), he is also one of the founding fathers of modern political science.

In the beginning of the golden age of Islam civilization, the great Turkish sage and philosopher has not only authored works in numerous topics ranging from theology to metaphysics, from ontology to logic, from ethics to political philosophy, from physics to astronomy, from psychology to musical theory, but also passed Ancient thought on to middle ages and to modern times with his profound philosophical knowledge.

Al-Farabi's system of thought is eclectic. On one hand, he was attempting to reconcile Aristotelian philosophy, which he was strictly committed to, with Plato's opinions; on the other hand he attempted to reinterpret the fundamental issues of Theist Hellenistic philosophy, which was the mainstream philosophical attitude of the era, thus he wanted to build a new and novel system of thought (Islamic thought) based on the belief of absolute Tawhid conveyed by Islam.

The unrivaled philosopher, who had tried to learn, be aware of, recognize and understand the universal thought closely by journeying from steppes of Central Asia to cultural capitals of Islamic world of the era, such as Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo approximately a thousand years ago, would change the classical system entirely by reclassifying the sciences so as to include Islamic sciences, instead of using the classification of sciences known as Trivium-Quadrivium which had been originally passed from Ancient Greece to Rome and thence to Christian Scholasticism, and would place philosophy of civilization in a crucial position for the first time in the new schema of sciences that he had established. Upon the philosopher's death, who grabbed attention with the pupils he educated as much as his works in areas of Philosophy, Theology (Kalam), Logic, Music, Ethics, State, Political philosophy and idea of Civilization, his work on Logic has been further extended by his pupils in Bagdad and has been turned into the reference source for the prominent thinkers, artists and writers especially in the era named as Islam Renaissance, i.e. 4th century AH.

His system of Logic has also become a primary foundation for Methodology, which was founded in seventeenth century and was amongst the primary agents in the formation of modern science and thought. Conversely, both Kalam and late period Islamic school of thought with emphasis on Sufism present basic premises which succeed philosophy of al-Farabi. The majority of the system of thought of the great scholar al-Ghazali and of his successor Fakhruddin Razi -a well-known scholar of jurisprudence (fiqh) and interpretation- which had emphasis on Kalam, is once again related to philosophy of al-Farabi. Indeed, it is certain that the *merâtib-i vücûd*, namely the theory of stages of being, on which ibn Arabi's philosophy of Wujud is based upon, is also related to al-Farabi's theory of Being and Emergence.

Al-Farabi's influences on Western Islam world are also tremendous. Avempace, ibn Tufail and Averroes, who are major representatives of the Andalusian thought, have not only spread al-Farabi's ideas in Muslim Spain, they enabled these ideas to go beyond Pyrenees and reach deep inside Continental Europe.

In short, we would not be exaggerating if we were to state that the tradition of Islamic thought in its entirety is a continuation and extension of the outlines of al-Farabi's ideas.

As for al-Farabi's influence on Western world, although not as prominent as on the Islamic world, we can state that it was almost as important, and it has been of great importance during the Jewish and Christian Middle Age and it survived to this day to some extent. Al-Farabi's ideas have been influential on Jewish thought through Jewish religious and philosophical scholar Maimonides; and on Latin world through Albertus Magnus and his pupil Saint Thomas. Upon Maimonides' recommendation to read some works by al-Farabi in a letter he wrote to his pupil Samuel ibn Tibbon, Jewish interpreters living in Southern France have translated a great portion of his works to Hebrew. Some among these interpreters have even considered themselves pupils of al-Farabi. Today, we can read some of al-Farabi's lost original Arabic works through these Hebrew transcriptions or translations. Likewise, many Christian interpreters, who have taken up Islamic science and thought, have also translated al-Farabi's works to Latin, either directly from Arabic or from Hebrew interpretations. It has been mentioned by many fair researchers that Western world had woken from its Scholastic slumber and Renaissance had started in the end of this translation effort, which apparently took almost three hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

This influence, despite diminishing until 18th century, has survived until today. Especially his ideas on philosophy of politics, of state and of civilization would be inspirational for the researchers of Jewish origin who stood up against Fascism during World War II. Among these researchers we must mention one of the ideologists of Neo-conservatism: Leo Strauss. After approximately 1200 years, he authored a marginalia on the comment al-Farabi wrote on Plato's Republic (a comment on a comment) thus became a contemporary al-Farabi commentator who upheld the famous Medieval tradition of scholia and commentary.

It is apparent that al-Farabi is a great world philosopher who illuminated not just Turkic or Islamic worlds only during his era, but the entire world from east to west in every era. Through both the works he authored and ideas he developed, and long lasting influences in the east and west, the great philosopher is also one of the major theorists of the thought of civilization, which is needed by today's world that is writhing in a great depression.

The Turkmen descendant, who was born and raised along the path of Silk road caravans where a large civilization inheritance which had grown in Central Asia since the era of Alexander the Great bearing civilization, and who has observed and familiarized with a major portion of the quarter of inhabited world, than called "rub'u meskûn", had a chance to get himself acquainted with the cultural accumulation of universal civilization which had arrived at the cradle of civilizations – Mesopotamia, basin of Tigris and Euphrates – and then probably went to Egypt from there.

Considering the origin and historical background of the word civilization, we can state that a philosopher of civilization is exactly what al-Farabi is. Therefore, we can consider al-Farabi as the herald and founding father of global humanity and peace attempt of the century - the Alliance of Civilizations project, which has been established under United Nations with 127 participant countries, and which is co-chaired by then Prime Minister, now President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Indeed, al-Farabi is a unique philosopher, who strived to construct the foundation of universal thought of civilization in all his books, especially in the three major works we mentioned previously (el-Medînetü'l-Fâdila, es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye and Fusûlü'l-Medenî).

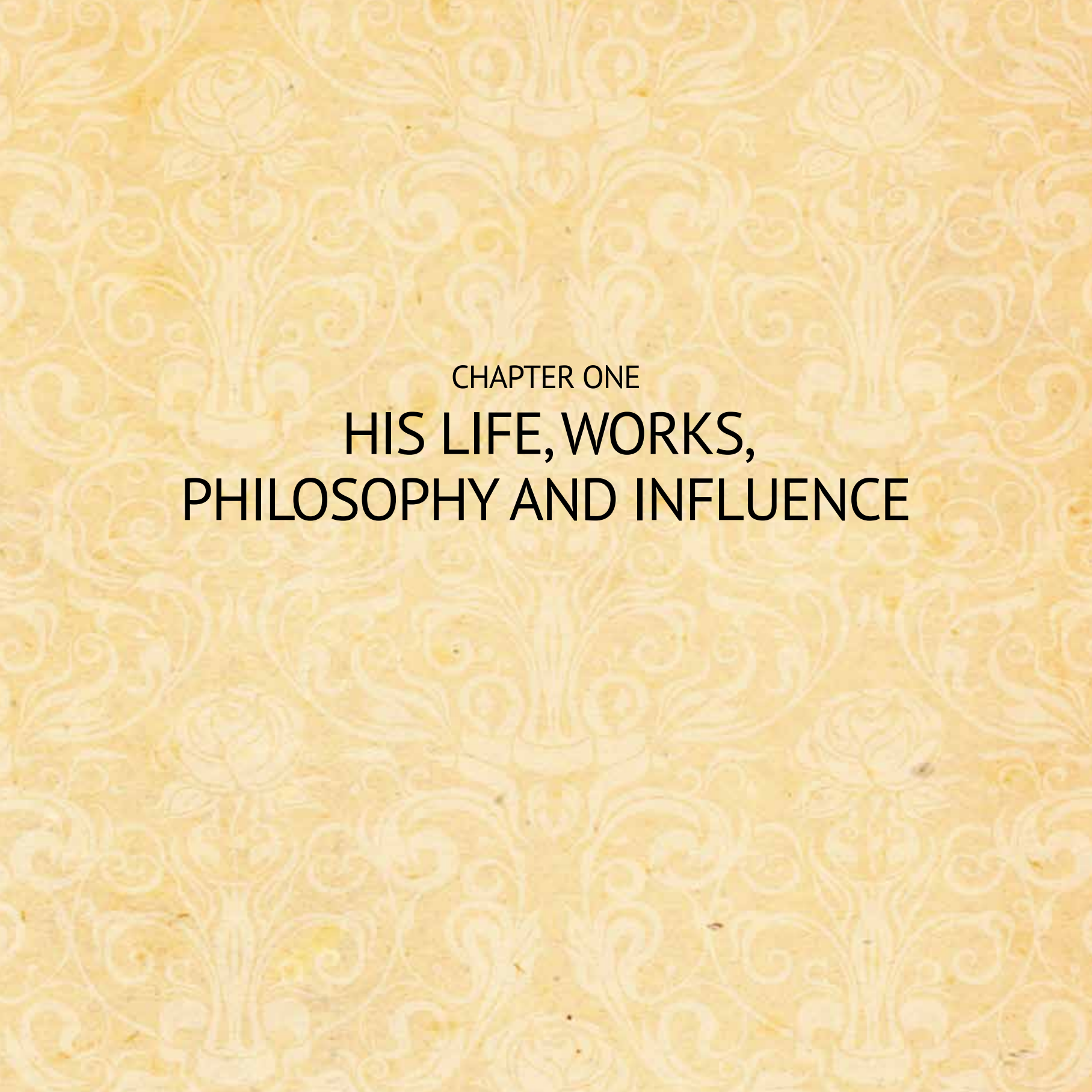
Naturally, back in al-Farabi's time, the term civilization was not used in the same sense as it is used today. Any topic in the scope of the term civilization, which can -despite lacking a clear cut definition-, be put as the essence and sum of higher activities of humankind in general terms, have been thoroughly studied by al-Farabi.

---

1. For a detailed review, see Bekir Karlığa, *İslam Düşüncesi'nin Batı Düşüncesi'ne Etkileri*, I, pp. 205ff.







CHAPTER ONE

# HIS LIFE, WORKS, PHILOSOPHY AND INFLUENCE

سَمِيعُ اللَّهِ الْوَجُوهُ الزَّيْبُوعُ وَالْمَصْدُوقُ وَالْمُتَّقِيُّ وَالْمُتَّقِيُّ وَالْمُتَّقِيُّ وَالْمُتَّقِيُّ  
 تَبِعُوا وَابْتَغُوا وَيُجْعَلُ فِيهِ أَفْكَارُهُمْ وَفُطْنُ مَا بَطُنَ مِنْ أَيْتِكَافِهِمْ وَجَادِرَانِ



فَقَالَ يَا وَادِ الْقُصُوفِ كُنَا الْقَوْلَ الْمُبْتَغَى الْيَوْمَ  
 لِيَوْمَ يَوْمَ الْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ

A library located  
 in Hülvan around  
 Baghdad (from  
 Harîrî's Makâmât)

## LIFE

According to sources of Classical Islamic thought, Ebû Nasr Muhammed ibn Muhammed ibn Tarhan (or Turhan) ibn Uzluğ al-Fârâbî, was born around 871 AD (the exact date is unknown), in Turkestan (in the village of Vesîç, 7-8km away from the city of Otrar which lies in the basin of Syr Darya, and approximately 180km west of the Shymkent which is situated in the south of modern Kazakhstan) which had become an important center of culture and education of the Samanid Era.

Built in the open and fertile flatlands along the river Syr Darya, city of Farab was an important center of education and culture on the Silk Road. Sources state that al-Farabi's father was the commander of Otrar castle. Situated 8-10 km away from the modern city of Otrar and placed in the world heritage list by UNESCO, ancient Otrar was one of the major cities in Central Asia with its fortified castle, Grand Mosque named Cuma, marketplaces, bazaars, inns and baths. During the time of al-Farabi's birth, Otrar was at a very critical position on the historical trade routes, later known as the Silk Road.

The Silk Road originated from China's than capital Ch'anggan (Xi'an), and passed through Tung Huan, the western gate of the Great Wall of China. From there, one of its branches reached Merv through Main Kurgan of Turkestan, Hotan, Yarkant, Kashgar and Balkh. Another branch crossed the Taklamakan Desert, and reached Merv through Turpan, Ürümqi, Talas, Otrar, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara. Situated in the center of Khorasan, Merv constituted one of the primary meeting points of the Silk Road.

One of many branches of this civilization dispersing from Merv, followed the route of Nishapur, Damghan, Gorgan, Qazvin, Hamadan, Mosul, Nusaybin, Urfa, Gaziantep, Rakka and reached Antioch. From there, it reached Rome by sea. Another branch originating in Merv would reach Istanbul through Qazvin, Tabriz and Trabzon. Yet another branch followed the route of Tabriz, Erzurum, Sivas, Kayseri, Konya and Eskişehir, crossed the Dardanelles, and extended towards Europe over the Balkans.

The start of the Silk Road bears traces of the Confucian Taoist Shintoist culture dominant in China and of the Buddhist culture prevalent in Central Asia. Towards Turkestan, we come across remnants of Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism and Mazdeism. There existed Nestorian Christians, albeit few, to the west. Thence, one would enter the basin of Islam culture.

Sacred sites of every culture existed on this road used by great trade caravans.

One important sacred site of Zoroastrianism was Khwarezm area, and another one was Azerbaijani region. Cities of Kokand, Tashkent (Şaş) and Ilak lied along the Fergana Valley. Here, sacred sites of Mani religion, which consists of a mixture of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity, existed alongside Zoroastrian, Manicheist, and Mazdeist beliefs.

As Jean Paul Roux put it: "Central Asia is a center of civilization. It is one of those special lands that give rise to strong schools of thought, prodigies, science and arts. The founder of Mandeism, which is the oldest surviving religion in the world, and Zoroaster, whom we lost track of in the dark ages, were both born on these lands. Buddhism emerged from unchartered waters of India and, here formed its thought patterns, code of conduct and Lamaist aspect. Hellenistic and Hindu ways of thought merged here and gave birth to Greek-Buddhist art. While the followers of universal religions were slaying each other elsewhere, they were living in great harmony on these lands and have taught us a lesson in tolerance. Serindia civilization, whose name is associated with the

union of the elegant and elaborate Sogdia, China (Seres, land of silk) and India for a good reason, took root here. Greatest scholar of the Islam world, al-Biruni; unprecedented master ibn Sina, known as Avicenna to Europeans; Hadith (way of the Prophet) compilers who formed the Sunni sect; the first Persian poet of importance, Rudaki; Ferdowsi, who authored his famous work Shah-nameh in Ghazni; and the first astronomer of modern times, Ulugh Beg; all emerged from Central Asia. Not to mention the names of numerous cities still ringing in our ears, although many fell to ruin: Balkh, Bukhara, Samarkand...

Genghis Khan, Timur and Babur, the conquerors who established the "Steppe Empires" as René Grousset elegantly stated, were born on these lands and returned to these lands no matter how far they ventured. Their last sights as they passed away were the sceneries of Central Asia. There are locations of spectacular beauty in Central Asia:

Lakes of Band-e Amir, which are atop the Afghan mountains and are covered by blue sky, Grand Mountain Xinjiang, shores of Issyk Kul where avalanche falling from Tian Shan mountains pile. These lands harbor humble treasures: narrow valleys, where the leaves of still seemingly young poplar and beech trees rustle, and tombs covered with purple and white iris flowers of the spring. However, Central Asia is a land of desolate and rugged plains. In broad waves, sand hills reach stone piles; stone piles reach the nostalgic steppes, which are as monotonous as the music Borodi composed for them, and steppes extend to grand peaks of at least 7000 meters high, each of which resembles a naturally formed ziggurat that extends its hand to the skies."<sup>1</sup>

Many events that changed the course of history took place in these lands in Yesi, Otrar, Syr Darya and Amu Darya basin which have now fallen to ruin. City of Otrar never recovered after being besieged and demolished by Mongols upon killing of Genghis Khan's trade convoy

of 450 people by Muhammad II of Khwarazm in 1218. It is said that this event was the most significant reason for Genghis Khan's decision to direct his assaults from east to west of Asia and on the devastation he caused in Islamic states. Timur has crossed his army over ice covered Syr Darya and stayed at Otrar during his military expedition against China and fell ill and passed away in the coasts of Aksu river.

Al-Farabi received fine education in this city of his birth, and learned his native language Turkish, as well as Arabic and Persian, which were the common language for science and culture in the Islam world in those days. Moreover, it is rumored that he acted as Qadi for a while, however information regarding this is insufficient.

We observe that al-Farabi, who left his homeland to deepen his knowledge, first went to Bukhara. We do not know when he arrived at Bukhara, how long he stayed there or when he departed therefrom. Bukhara, built on the banks of Zeravshan River, had long been an important religious and cultural center of Central Asia. According to Narshakhi, Bukhara consisted only of keep (Kuhendiz), urban (Şehristan) and suburban (rabad) areas. Registan was located at the center of the city. Promoted as "home to the great, keep of the state, Kaaba of science, great venue where scholars of the time meet" by the famous Islam historian Ebu Mansur Sealibi, Bukhara, became a prominent cultural and scientific center, especially during the Samanid era. The great library built by Nuh II of Samanid dynasty (Nuh ibn Mansur) and known as Sivâanü'l-Hikme kept many handwritten copies of the most famous scientific works of the time. The famous physician and judge Avicenna (ibn Sina), who treated this precious national leader, studied in this library for a very long period and examined many references which he would use in his future works. Those who despise him state that Avicenna plagiarized the works here, and then burned down this library so that no one would take notice.

1 . Jean Paul Roux, Orta Asya Tarih ve Uygarlık, pp. 1-209; Turkish Translation, Lale Arslan, İstanbul-2001.



*An Arsito Miniature Made in the 13th Century (from Ibn Fatik's work named Muhtârü'l-Hikem, Topkapı Palace), Istanbul*

Sources state that al-Farabi went to Samarkand from Bukhara, and after expanding his knowledge and experience here, moved on to Merv and Balkh.

At the time of al-Farabi's arrival, Samarkand, which also served as capital to Samanid Empire, was one of the prominent scientific and cultural centers of Transoxiana (Maveraünnehir) region. The region between Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, called Land beyond the River by Turks and Maveraü'n-Nehir in Islamic sources, had long constituted the main route of Silk Road caravans. Trade caravans departing from Far East Asia and China, and loaded with silk and spices, reached Khorasan through Transoxiana and reach Anatolia through Persia, thence set course towards Europe and Africa. These caravans were not only carrying wares and goods, but also brin-

ging the rich scientific and cultural treasures of the East to their destinations. Therefore, Khorasan and Transoxiana region, where Turks and Persians lived, were the gathering point for different cultures and became a constantly renewed synthesis of civilizations.

With the advent of Islam, many scientists and religious scholars appeared in this region harboring ancient cultural heritage. Among them, are Imam Bukhari, al-Nasa'i and Imam at-Termezi, who authored three of the six Hadith collections which are the resource of Islam, that are second only to Quran. Similarly, Abu Mansur Maturidi, the great scholar of principles of Aqidah, with which Hanafi school is affiliated, was also from these lands. Famous scholar of Mathematics, al-Khwarizmi, who named the science of Algorithms along with Abd al-Hamid ibn Turk,

Abu al-Wafa Buzjani, al-Khujandi and Alfraganus - pioneers of positive sciences in Islam world, also appeared in the same region around the same time as al-Farabi. In the famous book titled History of Science written by Sarton, who was the greatest science historian of the century, one century is named after the peerless scholar al-Biruni, who was yet another famous Turkish and Islamic scholar from the region.

The primary objective of al-Farabi was to travel to Bagdad, which was the political, administrative and cultural capital of the Islamic world, and to thoroughly learn the universal knowledge and philosophy which was very lusty here in those days. Finally, at a time past his forty years of age, he arrived at Bagdad, also called garden of justice (Bağ-ı Dâd) and land of peace (Dârü's-Selâm). While attending the lectures of the most prominent linguists of the time, ibn Serrac, he also took lessons on Philosophy and Logic from Yuhanna ibn Haylan, who was a Nestorian Christian and the one of leading translators and commentators in Bagdad.

Some sources report that upon Yuhanna ibn Haylan's return to Harran, al-Farabi also went to Harran and had a chance to acquaint himself with the ancient astronomy traditions of Persia, India, Babylon and Chaldea.

Al-Farabi, who returned to Bagdad from Harran and stayed there for around twenty years, had a chance to study Neo-Platonism, the dominant school of Philosophy and Logic of the period, along with Plato and Aristotelian thoughts in detail. Here he authored most of his works.

On one hand, al-Farabi attempted to relate Plato with Aristotle, therefore rational philosophy with metaphysical thought, and on the other hand desired to establish connections between Hellenistic philosophy and polytheist Greek thought, in which such approach was materialized and monotheist Islamic thought.

We do not possess any information on al-Farabi's affiliation with "House of Wisdom" (Beytü'l-Hikmet), founded by al-Ma'mun, during his stay in Bagdad. Indeed, classi-

cal sources do not mention al-Kindi, the founder of House of Wisdom among the people he was tutored or influenced by. Al-Farabi himself gives no mention of al-Kindi also. Besides, tradition of philosophy al-Farabi relied on was Plotinus-Porphyry Nestorian-Sabian Neo-Platonism from school of Alexandria, whereas tradition Kindi relied on was Greek-Roman-Assyrian Neo-Platonism from school of Athens.

Al-Farabi most probably had to depart from Bagdad due to political turmoil of 941-942 and head to Aleppo, and was received kindly in the palace of Hamanid ruler Sayf al-Dawla, who was a respected statesman, sovereign around Aleppo at the time and who valued scholars greatly. According to sources, al-Farabi kept his humble ways of life, despite his predisposition to luxury and being honored by great hospitality by the ruler.

It is stated in sources that due to Al-Farabi had a short, thin and beardless appearance, he never gave up his Turkic clothing indigenous to Central Asia.

It is unknown to what extent the legends on al-Farabi reflect his true personality, however some of these are meaningful in terms of emphasizing the profound knowledge of the thinker on philosophy and music.

The legend that he knows more than seventy language takes place in the palace of Aleppo ruler Sayf al-Sawla, and is related to his first reception in the ruler's palace. According to legend, when the ruler asks al-Farabi to take a seat during his reception in the Palace, he asks whether it is "the seat I am supposed to take or the seat you are supposed to take?". In turn, ruler tells al-Farabi that he should "take the seat he is worthy of" and al-Farabi left the crowd to take a seat beside Sayf al-Dawla, and further, he pushed the ruler to the side. Annoyed such attitude, the ruler tells his company in a language that he thinks al-Farabi would not understand (possibly Kurdish) that he would ask this unruly old man some questions and have him removed from his presence if the replies are to be unsatisfactory. Al-Farabi who hears these words of the ruler tells the ruler to show a bit of



*A View from Otrar Fortress, Kazakhstan*

patience, for the end of the deal is of importance. Surprised to see that al-Farabi understood him, Sayf al-Dawla asks in awe “do you know that language as well”, and in response al-Farabi tells him that “I know more than seventy languages”.

Later, al-Farabi started discussions with the scholars in the council, and virtually defeated every single one of them with his responses to the questions they asked. Thereon, scholars of the council fell silent and started listening to al-Farabi, and then took their books and started taking notes. During a musical performance in Sayf al-Dawla’s presence, al-Farabi did not enjoy the music being performed and he first played a joyful pie-

ce, making everyone laugh and then a sad piece, making everyone weep, and finally a slow piece, making everyone fall asleep. Once they were asleep, Al-Farabi took his leave from the council.

İbn Khallikan states that the philosopher who explained the influence of different musical scales on human spirit in his book *Musiki el-Kebir*, namely the Great Book of Music Al-Farabi was the inventor of zither (qanun), which is one of the prominent instruments in Eastern music.

Even though it is claimed that he knows seventy languages, it is obviously this is an exaggerated statement. However, considering the fact that the philosopher provided Greek, Assyrian, Persian and Sogdian equivalents



*A View from Baghdad In early 20th Century*

of Arabic words and terms in some of his works, we can say that besides his native language Turkish, he can knew Arabic and Persian well and comprehended Greek, Assyrian and Sogdian.

Al-Farabi left his comfortable life in the Hamanid palace in Aleppo and travelled first to Damascus and then to Egypt which was under the rule of Ikhshidid dynasty of Turkish origin, however, could not stay here for long and returned to Damascus.

Al-Farabi who spent the last days of his life in Damascus, and in Rajab month of Hijri year 339 (December 950 AD), at the age of 80 he passed away here. Ruler Sayf al-Dawla also attended his funeral prayers and he was buried in the cemetery outside Bâbü's-Sagîr with state ceremony. His grave is thought to be moved to its current place.

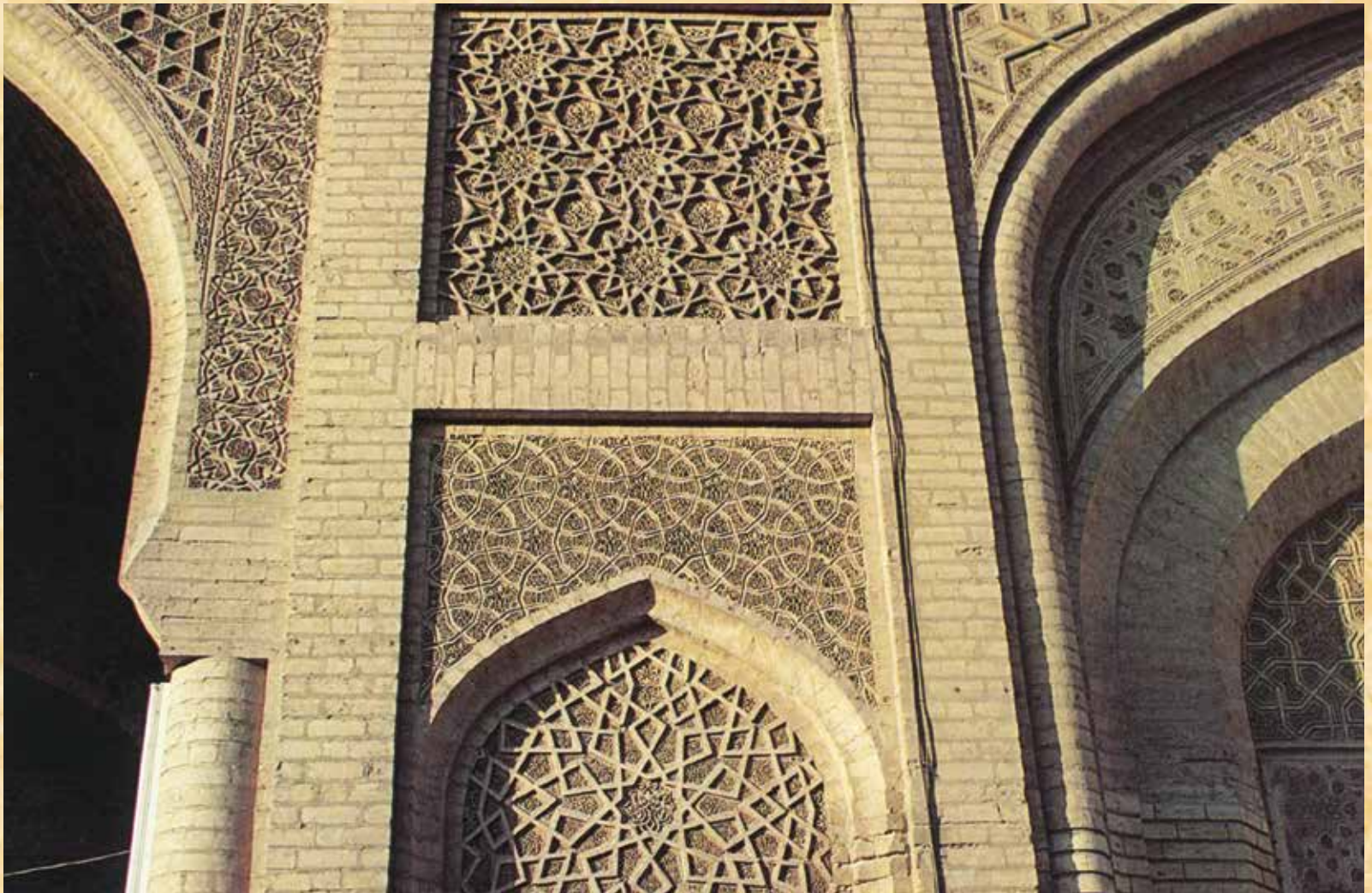
# WORKS

The number of works attributed to Al-Farabi differs in history of classical Islam. Kadi İbn Sâid who told that the philosopher of Muslims was Al-Farabi In real terms emphasizes the content and significance of his works rather than listing those works.<sup>1</sup>

Zahîrüddîn Beyhakî on the other hand who told four great philosophers came to the world and they were Plato, Aristotle, Al-Farabi and Avicenna further says that Al-Farabi's works were mostly popular In Damascus region. He says that only approximately 12 works of him were seen in Khorasan region he belongs to and records names thereof.<sup>2</sup>

1. Kadi İbn Said, Tabakâtü'l-Ümem, 137-140, (ed., Hayat Bu Alvân), Beirut-1985.

2. Zahîrüddîn Beyhakî, Tarihu Hukemâi'l-İslam, 30-31 (ed., Muhammed Kürd Ali), Dimaşk-1988.



*A View from el-Mustansiriyye Madrasa in Baghdad*



A page from Al-Fârâbî's Oeuvre

İbn Ebî Usaybia who provides the most comprehensive information about the life and works of the thinker notes the names of 113 works of Al-Farabi who he defined as “perfect philosopher and virtuous imam”.<sup>3</sup>

İbnü'l-Kiftî who is one of the last and most comprehensive sources of information about classical Islam thinkers told that he was is onun “indisputably philosopher of Muslims” and notes the names of approximately 70 works of Al-Farabi in administrationdition to information understood to be cited from Kâdi İbn Said.<sup>4</sup>

3. İbn Ebi Useybia, Uyûnü'l-Enba fi Tabakâtî'l-Etibba, 603-609.

4. İbnü'l-Kiftî, İhbârü'l-Ulema bi Ahbârî'l-Hukemâ, Kahire-Traihisz.

In the works of İbn Cülcül<sup>5</sup> and Sicistani<sup>6</sup> who provide significant information mostly about antique philosophers we find no information about Al-Farabi.

In modern bibliography studies conducted on Al-Farabi, it is revealed that the number of works of this great thinker is a lot more. Indeed, while late Ahmet Ateş mentions around 160 titles<sup>7</sup>; 180 titles are given in the work titled “Farabi Bibliografyası” (Bibliography

5. İbn Cülcül, Tabakâtü'l-Etibbai ve'l-Hükemâ (ed, Fuâd Seyyid) Cairo-1955.

6. Sicistânî, Müntahab Sıvânü'l-Hikme, (ed. Duglas Morton Dunlop) New York-1979.

7. Ahmed Ateş, İlimlerin Sayımı, p. 23.

of al-Farabi) by MÛjgan Cumbur, İsmet Binark and Nejat Sefercioğlu.<sup>8</sup>

Here we will content ourselves with briefly introducing only some of the most significant works of the philosopher.

### 1- Risâle fî'l-Akl

Arabic title: "Makâle fî Maânî'l-Akl", "Makâle fî'l-Akl" and "Kitâbu'l-Akli ve'l-Ma'kûlât"; Latin translation, "De Intellectus"; Hebrew translation, Ma'mar be-Sekel weha-Muskal"

Al-Farabi first provides the etymological and terminological meanings of the word "mind" in Risâle fî'l-Akl, followed by what the public understand from this concept, what theologians mean with this word and finally explains how and in what context Aristotle uses the word in his book Posterior Analytics and in section six of his work titled Nicomachean Ethics. Subsequently, al-Farabi, along with his own views on the topic, gives detailed explanation, on how Aristotle mentions four kinds of mind in his work De Anima (On the Soul), consisting of Agent Intellect, Potential Intellect, Acquired Intellect and Actual Intellect and provides detailed information about those minds.<sup>9</sup>

This work has been translated once to Latin and twice to Hebrew: approximately eleven copies of the Latin translation titled "De Intellectus" by an unknown translator have survived in Western libraries: Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 6443, f. 197; 8802, f. 74; 16602, f. 107; 16613, f. 90), Vatican (Latin, 2186, f. 74; 4426, f. 1), Oxford (Bodleiana, Digebianus 217, f. 176; Bibl. Collegii Oriensis, 7, f. 199), Graz (Bibl. Universitatis, 482, f. 230; Admontensis, 487, f. 59), Munich (Bibl. Bavaria, Pubblica CLM. 8001, f. 121), Olisipionensis (Bibl. Nat. F. G. 2299, f. 135), Erlangen (Bibl. Universitatis, 210; Irm. 379), f. 7)<sup>10</sup>

8. MÛjgan Cumbur, İsmet Binark and Nejat Sefercioğlu, Farabi Bibliyografyası, I, p. 52.

9. Fârâbî, *Risâle fî'l-Akl*, pp. 3-12.

10. M. Threse d'Alverny, Avicenna Latinus, *Archive d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXV.

Two copies of Hebrew translation of Risâle fî'l-Akl performed by Samuel İbn Tibbon and Calonymos ben Calonymos have been available in Paris (Bibl. Nat. Hebr., 185, f. 151 ve 125, f. 63) up to date.<sup>11</sup>

### 2- Kitâbü'l-Mille

In this work, which states that the terms Nation, Sharia and philosophy are synonymous, the main focus is on the relationship between religion, philosophy and jurisprudence.

### 3- Kitâbu'l-Mebâdî

While mentioning es-Siyâsetu'l-Medeniyye, İbn Ebi Useybia states that this work is also called<sup>12</sup> "Mebâdî'u'l-Mevcûdât", but adds that there's also another work titled "el-Mebâdî'u'l-İnsâniyye"<sup>13</sup>. It may be thought that these two are different works, considering two separate Hebrew translations and titles have survived.

This work has been translated to Hebrew by an unknown translator. Seven copies of this translation are present in Oxford (Bodleiana, I; Canon, 17), Munich (234) and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 189; 893; 930; 1054) libraries. Based on the aforementioned Oxford copies, the translation in question was published in Leipzig in 1849 within the Hebrew Almanac of 5610.<sup>14</sup>

### 4- Uyûnu'l-Mesâil: Latin translation "Fontes Questionum"

In this title, where the guidelines of al-Farabi's philosophy are exhibited with aphorisms, it is first told that knowledge is divided into two, namely imagination and depiction, and then the importance of separating the existence of beings as Necessary and Possible is emphasized and thence theory of intellects and emergence, which is cosmological and partially epistemological, is stated.<sup>15</sup>

11. Moritz Steinschneider, Die Hebraischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher, 161; M. Bouyges, *age*, XV-XVII).

12. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 609.

13. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 608.

14. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 495.

15. Fârâbî, *Uyûnu'l-Mesâil*, Leiden-1890.

One handwritten copy of this work of unknown translator is present in Vatican (Latin, 2186, f. 46)<sup>16</sup>

Four copies of the Hebrew translation done by Todros Todrossi can be found in Oxford (Bodleiana, Michael, 332), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 1023), Taurinensis (150), Vatican (Hebr., 274) libraries.<sup>17</sup>

### 5- Marâtibu'l-Ulûm. Latin translation: "De Ortu Sciantiarum"

This work, which is recorded<sup>18</sup> as above only by İbnu'l-Kiftî -of all the sources of classic Islam thought, has been translated to Latin and possibly Hebrew in Middle Age, and has been used extensively in Western world. However, this work and İhsâu'l-Ulûm are mixed up.

Five copies of this work, which was translated to Latin as "De Ortu Sciantiarum" by Gerard de Cremona, have survived to this day in various libraries in Europe: Paris (Bibl. Nat. Latin, 6443); Naples (Bibl. Nat. VIII, E. 19, f. 33) – in this copy it is stated that the work has been translated in Toledo by Gerard de Cremona from Saracen language (Arabic): "Translata a Magistro Gerardo Cremonensi in Toledo de Sarracin to in Latinum. Deo Gratias. Amen"; Venice (Bibl. Sancti Marci, 3264, f. 55), Graz (Bibl. Fratrum Praedicatorum, 151, f. 46; also f. 132), Olisiponensis (Bibl. Nat. F. G. 2299, f. 109).<sup>19</sup> This translation has been published by Beaumker as "Al Fârâbî, über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften".<sup>20</sup>

Moritz Steinschneider mentions a Hebrew translation of this work, but gives no account of where it is.<sup>21</sup>

16.M. Cruz Hernandez, el-Fontes Questionum de Abû Nasr Al-Fârâbî, (Archive d'histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age, XXV-XXVI, pp. 303-323).

17.Moritz Steinschneider, Age., p. 56. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, GAL., (Arabic trans., IV), p. 147; Abdurrahman Bedevî, Age., II, p. 495.

18.İbnu'l-Kiftî, İhbârul-Ulemâ bi Ahbârul-Hukemâ, p. 184.

19.M. T. d'Alvereny, Archive d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age, XXXI, p. 312.

20.Clement Beaumker, Liber Al-Farabii De Ortu Scientiarum (within Al Farabi, über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften, VIII), Münster-1916

21.Moritz Steinschneider, Age., p. 89.



Manuscript Copy of Al-Farabi's book named Tahsilü's-Saade, (Topkapı Palace), Istanbul

## 6- Risâle fi ma Yenbağî en Yukaddeme Kable Teallu-mi'l-Felsefeti: (Hebrew Translation: İggeret be-Sittur Keri'at ha-Hokmot)

Two copies of Hebrew translations of this work recorded<sup>22</sup> as “Kitâbun fi'l-Eşyâi'lletî yuhtâcu en Tu'leme Kable'l-Felsefeti” by İbn Ebi Useybia which was believed to have been written as a guide for those who want to study philosophy are still in libraries of Parma (R., 458) and Munich (Hebr., 308)<sup>23</sup>

## 7- Cevâbun li Mesâile Süile Anha

Recorded<sup>24</sup> as “Cevâbâtun li Mesâile Suile Anhâ ve hiye Selâsun ve İşrûne Mes'ele” by İbn Ebi Useybia, this work is composed of 23 questions posed to al-Farabi about Logic and Philosophy.

In some catalogues, it is stated that this work has been translated to Hebrew by Todros Todrosî, however we have no account for whether it survived or not.<sup>25</sup>

## 8- el-Mesâ'ilü'l-Felsefiyye

Also called el-Mesailü'l-Müteferrika, this work consists of short responses to 43 questions on philosophy and logic issues.

## 9- Felsefetu Eflâtûn: Latin translation: “Philosophiae Platonis”

This work which has been written to explain Plato's philosophy as the title suggests has been translated both to Latin and to Hebrew: the Latin translation the translator of whom is unknown was published by F. Rosenthal and Richard Walzer within the series “Plato Arabus” in London in 1943.<sup>26</sup> The Hebrew translation by Schemtob ben Joseph ben Falqueras has reached today within his work titled *Reschith ha Hokma*.<sup>27</sup>

22. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age.*, p. 609.

23. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age.*, 160. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, (Arabic trans., IV), 149; Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age.*, II, 494.

24. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age.*, p. 608.

25. M. Cunbur et al., *Age.*, p. 7).

26. Richard Walzer, İ.A. El-Fârâbî entry.

27. Schemtob ben Joseph ben Falaqueras, *Reschith ha Hokma* (Publ., Moritz

## 10-Telhîsu Nevâmîsu Eflâtun

This booklet, which is a summary of Plato's work titled *Laws*, has grabbed great attention in Western world and contemporary thinker Leo Strauss has reinterpreted this booklet as it will be explained later.

## 11- Felsefetü Aristotâlîs

Subjects of Aristotelian philosophy, apart from ethics and politics, are discussed in this short booklet.

## 12- el-Cemu Beyne Re'yeyi'l-Hakîmeyn

Written in order to reconcile Aristotle and Plato's views, this work informs about the three main issues of conflict between the two philosophers.

## 13- Kitâbü'i-l-Hurûf

Within this work, also mentioned as “Kitâbun fî Ağrâdi Aristo fî Kulli Makâletin min Kitâbihi'l-Musemmâ bi'l-Hurûf veya el-İbâne an Ğaradî Aristotâ-lîs fî Kitabi Mâ Ba'de't-Tabia”, al-Farabi recites certain sections of Aristotle's book *Metaphysics*. Although İbn Ebi Useybia reports<sup>28</sup> that al-Farabi has another work titled “Kitâbu'l-Elfâzî ve'l-Hurûf”, it is debatable whether these two works are the same.

Five copies of its anonymous Hebrew translation are in Oxford (Bodleian, 10 Qu, Folio, 128-129), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 915; 989), Kauffmann, 26 (10), Leipzig (Hebr., 40) libraries.<sup>29</sup>

## 14- es-Simâû't-Tabîi li Aristotâlîs. Latin translation: “Librum Aristotelis de Naturali Auditu”

Recorded<sup>30</sup> by İbn Ebi Useybia and İbnü'l-Kiftî, this title whose original Arabic manuscript is lost, has been translated to Latin as “*Distinctio Sermonis super Librum Aristotelis de Naturali Auditu*” by Gerard de Cremona and two of these Latin translations are in libraries of Spain

David), Berlin-1902.

28. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age.*, p. 608.

29. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age.*, II, p. 495.

30. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Uyûnü'l-Enbâ*, II, pp. 138, 140; İbnü'l-Kiftî, *İhbârü'l-Ulemâ*, p. 184.

(Bibl. Columbina, 5, 6, 14, f. 1) and Austria (Graz, Bibl. Universitatis, 482, f. 133).<sup>31</sup>

### 15- Risâle fi Mâhiyyeti'n-Nefsi

This work where the nature of the Soul is explained was translated to Hebrew from Arabic by İsaac ben Shealtiel in Rome, possibly in 1284. Of this translation, around 15 handwritten copies have survived in various libraries of Europe: Berlin (112), Oxford (Bodleian, Reggio, 43), London (Beyt ha-Midrash, 43), Munich (120), Paris, (763; 930; 986), Parma, (R., 1390 (2)), Petersburg, Firko-vitsch (438), Tauriniensis (157), Vatican, 252; 294; 297; 340; 374.<sup>32</sup> This translation was published by Edelmann within Hemdah Gemzah in Königsberg in 1856.<sup>33</sup>

### 16- et-Tavtie fi'l-Mantık

In this work, serving as an introduction and preparation on science of logic, al-Farabi explains the position and importance of science of logic among other sciences.

Four manuscripts of its Hebrew translation are present in Bisliches (77), Steinschneider, (22), Munich (307), Vatican 49, F. 105) libraries.<sup>34</sup>

### 17- el-Elfâzü'l-Müsta'mele fi'l-Mantık

This work, in which al-Farabi's fundamental views on Logic are stated, is not listed in classical sources.

### 18- Fusûlün Yuhtâcu ileyha fi Sînâati'l-Mantık

In this work, also known as "el-Fusûlu'l-Hamse", the five universal concepts (species, genus, differentia, property, accident) that the persons who have started to read Logic are mentioned<sup>35</sup>.

31. M. T. d'Alvereny, *Archive d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, XXXIII, p. 312.

32. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 162. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV), p. 147; Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

33. Ahmed Ateş, *el-Fârâbî'nin Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası. (Belleten, XV, LVII)* p. 185.

34. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

35. *el-Fârâbî, et-Tavtie fi'l-Mantık* (Ed. Refik el-Acem), 63-73.

Seven copies of the Hebrew translation of this work are still present in Oxford (Bodleiana, Michael, 76; Bisliches, 77), Munich (297; 307), Petersburg (Firk, 636), Tauriensis (Pey., P., 224, N., 211), Folio, 37.<sup>36</sup>

### 19- Kitâbu'l-Muhtasari's-Sağîr fi'l-Mantık

Since it was recorded as "Kitâbu'l-Muhtasari's-Sağîr fi'l-Mantık ala Tarîkatî'l-Mütekellimîn" by İbn Ebi Useybia<sup>37</sup>, this short writing on logic must be a discussion of relationship between theology and logic.

Two copies of its Hebrew translation of this work survived in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 333; Orel, 107).<sup>38</sup>

### 20- İsağûcî

As in the eponymous work of the famous Hellenistic thinker Porphyrius, al-Farabi explains the five universal concepts (species, genus, differentia, property, accident) in this work as well.

Two copies of its Hebrew translation are present in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 898; 917).<sup>39</sup>

### 21- et-Ta'lîk ala İsağûcî

Recorded as "el-İmlâ fî Maânî İsağûcî" by İbn Ebi Useybia<sup>40</sup>, and consisting of the commentaries on the aforementioned work, this work has one surviving copy of its Hebrew translation (Munich, Hebr, 210).<sup>41</sup>

36. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, 494; Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 13. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV), p. 139.

37. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 609.

38. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 73. Conveyed by F. A. Shamsi, *Al-Farabi's Treatise on Certain Obscurities in Books I and V Euclid's Elements (Journal of Islamic Science VI)*, p. 32.

39. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494; Jacques Langhade, *Le Kitâb al-Hatâba d'Al-El-Fârâbî (Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, XLII)*, p. 66, footnote 3.

40. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 609.

41. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 13. Footnote 2. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV), p. 139.

## 22- Risâle fi Tefsîri Kitabi'l-Medhali fi Sinâati'l-Mantık. Latin translation: "Liber Introductorius in Artem Logicae Demonstrationis"

This work is sometimes attributed to al-Farabi and to someone named Muhammed at times, who is introduced as al-Kindi's student.

One copy of this work's Latin translation titled "Liber Introductorius in Artem Logicae Demonstrationis" has survived in Vatican (Latin, 2186, f. 71). Albino Nagy has published this translation in Munich in 1897.<sup>42</sup>

## 23- Kitâbu Katigoryas

In this work known as Kitâbu'l-Makûlât, al-Farabi investigates the subject of categories, which constitutes one of the main sections of classical logic.

Two copies of its Hebrew translation survived: (Munich, Hebr, 307<sup>43</sup> ve Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 917, F., 108).<sup>44</sup>

## 24- Şerhü Kitâbü'l-Makûlât

In this work, which was recorded by İbn Ebi Useybia as "Şerhü Kitâbü Katigoryâs li Aristotâlîs ala Cihati't-Ta'lîk"<sup>45</sup>, Aristoteles' aforementioned book of categories is explained through notes.

Two copies of its Hebrew translation of the work are present in Munich (Hebr, 307) and Escorial (Hebr., 612) libraries.<sup>46</sup>

## 25- Kitâbu'l-İbâre

In this work, which was recorded by İbn Ebi Useybia as "Şerhü Kitâbü Barirminyâs li Aristotâlîs ala Cihati't-Ta'lîk"<sup>47</sup>, Aristoteles' book "Peri Hermenias" is explained through notes.

42.A. Nagy, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie Mittel Alters*, II, V, pp. 41-64, Munich-1867. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans. IV), p. 141.

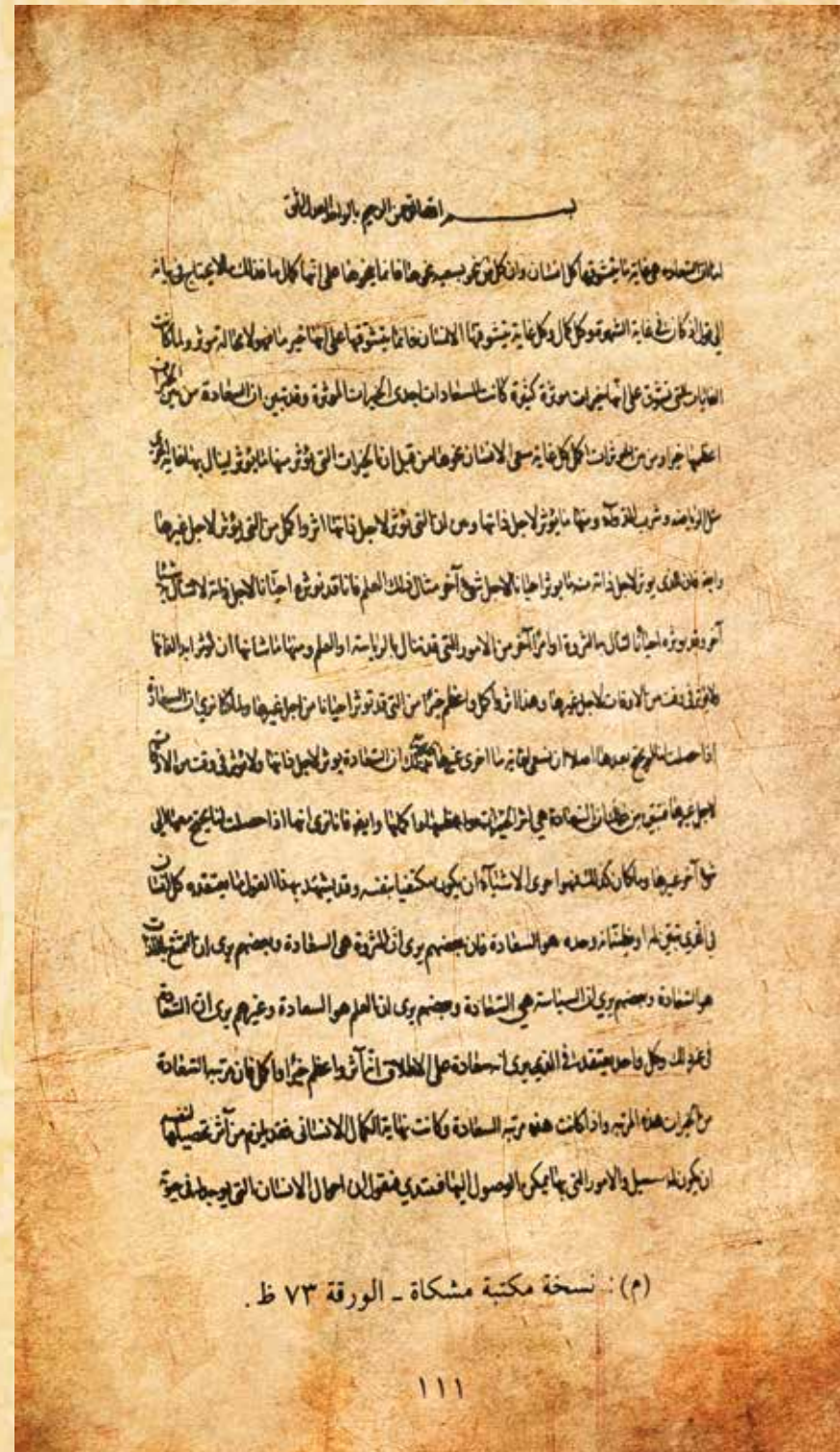
43.Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 13. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV), p. 140.

44.Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

45.İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p.608.

46.Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 13.

47.İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 608.



Manuscript Copy of Al-Farabi's work named et-Tenbihü ala Sebili's-Saâde, (Kütübne-i Mişkât), Tehran, Iran

One copy of its Hebrew translation has survived in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 917, F., 134)<sup>48</sup>

## 26- Şerhün li-Kitabi Aristotâlis fi l-İbâre

As the title suggests, this work is the scholium of Prior Analytics by Aristoteles.

## 27- Kitâbu'l-Kıyâs

This work, recorded as “Şerhü Kitâbu'l-Kıyâs li Aristotâlis ve huve's-Şerhu'l-Kebîr” by İbn Ebi Useybia, is a major scholium of Posterior Analytics from Aristoteles' Organon, in which theory of analogy is discussed.

Two copies of its Hebrew translation of this work are still in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 917, F., 143; 898).<sup>49</sup>

## 28- Kitâbu'l-Kıyâsi's-Sağîr

This work is a summary of the section Posterior Analytics of Aristoteles' previously mentioned work titled Organon, in which theory of analogy is discussed.

Four copies of its Hebrew translation of this work survived in various libraries of Europe (Oxford, Bodleian, 402; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 917 (5); 928 (5); Vienna, 112)<sup>50</sup>.

## 29- Kitâbu'l-Burhân

As the title suggests, this work is an extensive scholium of Prior Analytics section of Aristotle's work titled Organon.

Although Abdurrahmân Bedevî has stated that this work had been translated into Hebrew by Jehuda ben Tibbon, whether it survives is not mentioned.<sup>51</sup>

## 30- Kitâbu'l-Cedel

Two copies of Hebrew translation of this work, which is stated as the scholium of Sophistical Refutations secti-

48. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

49. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 30; Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

50. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

51. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

on of Aristotle's Organon<sup>52</sup>, is the scholium of Topics section of Aristotle's Organon are present in Vienna (Hebr., 112) and Munich (Hebr., 29 (6)) libraries.<sup>53</sup>

## 31- Kitâbu's-Safsata

Recorded as “Kitâbu'l-Mevâdi' li'l-Muğâlata” by İbn Ebi Useybia<sup>54</sup>, this work is the commentary on Topics section of Aristotle's Organon.

## 32- Muhtasaru'l-Muğâlata

As the title suggests, this work is summary of the previous book.

## 33- Şerâitu'l-Yakîn

In this brief booklet, al-Farabi describes the conditions and parts of certain knowledge. A transcription of the Arabic original in Hebrew alphabet of this work, which was published by Mübahat Küyel, is present at the end of a manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 303).<sup>55</sup>

Its Hebrew translation of unknown source is also present in Paris (In Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 917 (2)).<sup>56</sup>

## 34- Kitâbu'l-Hitâbe fi'l-Mantık: Latin Translation: “Declaratio Compendiosa Supra Libris Rhetoricorum Aristotelis”

This work, which begins with descriptions of rhetoric and related essential concepts such as persuasion, opinion, certitude and doxa, provides historical and logical information on the use of these concepts, and emphasizes the role and importance of syllogism in rhetoric.<sup>57</sup>

This work has been translated into Latin as “In Rhetoricam” by Hermannus Allemagnus. The copy of this trans-

52. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 608.

53. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 56. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV), p. 140. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 494.

54. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 608.

55. Salomon Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, pp. 351-352.

56. Mübahat Küyel, *El-Fârâbî'nin Şerâitu'l-Yakîn'i*, p. 13.

57. Fârâbî, *Kitâbu'l-Hitâbe* (publ., Jacques Langhade, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XLIII, 3), pp. 87-177.

lation, which is in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 16097, f. 188) was published under the title “Declaratio Compendiosa Supra Libris Rhetoricorum Aristotelis” in Venice in 1484; and subsequently published again in Venice in 1515 under the title “Rhetorica Aristotelis cum Fundatissimi Artium et Theologiae”.<sup>58</sup>

### 35- Risâle fi Kavânîni’ş-Şi’r

In this short booklet, al-Farabi mentions the fundamental ideas of Aristotle on poetics.

### 36- Şerhu’l-Müstağlak min Musâdarâti’l-Makâleti’l-ûlâ ve’l-Hâmise min Uklîdes

Al-Farabi explains sections one and five of Euclid’s book The Elements.

This work has been translated into Hebrew by Moses ben Tibbon in 1270, and two handwritten copies have survived in Munich (Hebr., 36; 290).<sup>59</sup>

### 37- en-Nüket fima Yasihhu ve ma la Yasihhu min Ahkâmi’n-Nücûm.

Al-Farabi explains the essential rights and wrongs about the configuration of stars.

### 38- et-Ta’lîkât:

101 short anecdotes on different subjects of philosophy are included in this work.

### 39- ed-Deâvi’l-Kalbiyye

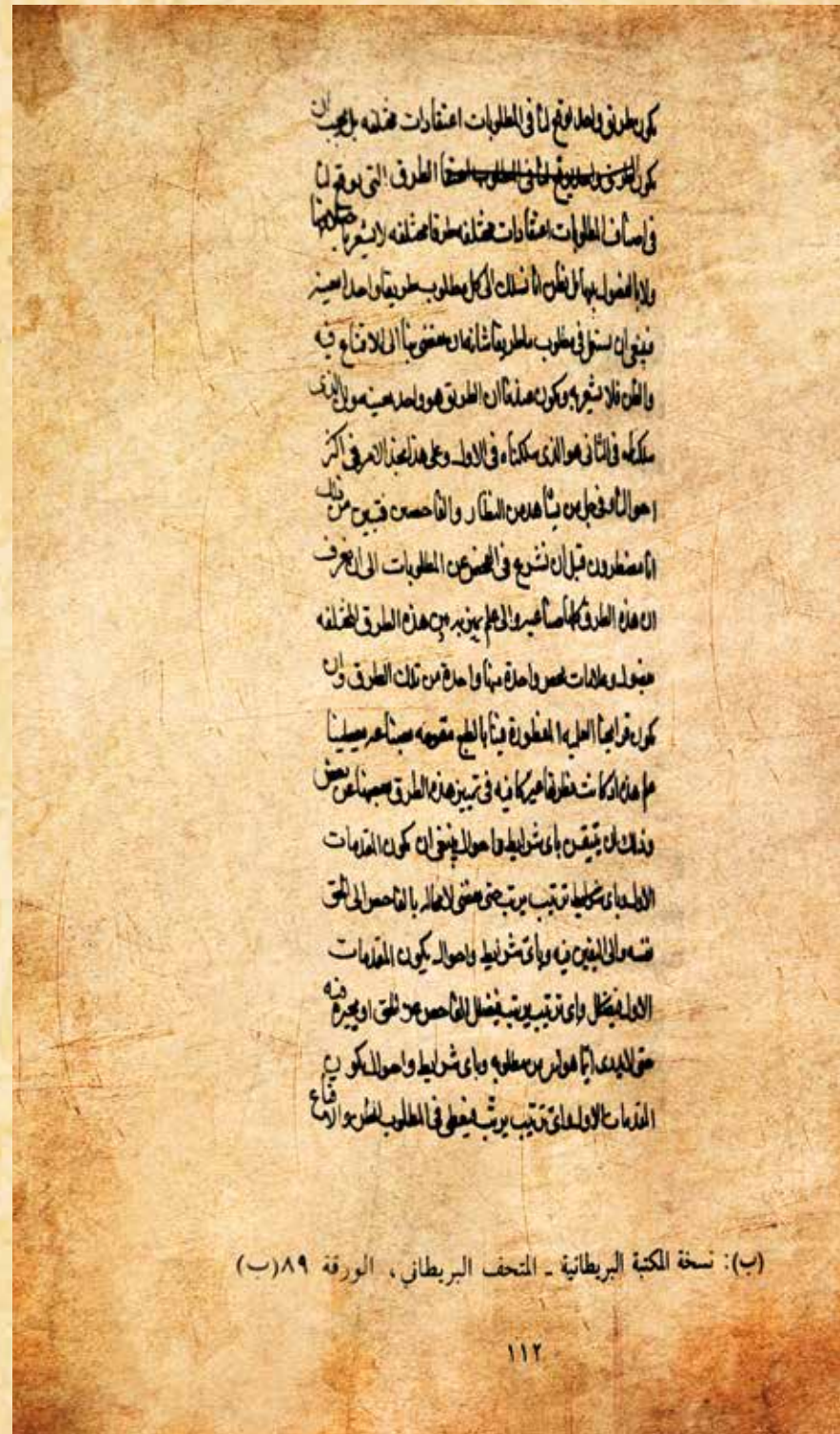
In this short booklet, al-Farabi gives concise and interesting explanations on fundamental problems of philosophy.

### 40- Risâletü Zînûn’el-Kebîr

Titled after Aristotle’s student, the Great Zeno, this short work contains 6 problems about philosophy of religion.

58. Conveyed by Ahmed Ateş, in el-Fârâbînin Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası (Belleten, XV, LVII) 182 from A. Nagy, *Notizia Intorno alla Retorica d’Al Farabi*, II, pp. 684-691

59. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 50; Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabictrans., IV), p. 144; Abdurrahman Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 495.



Manuscript Copy of Al-Farabi's book named Introduction to Logic (el-Medhal-İsaguci), (British Museum), London



*Details of the Lute said to be Invented by Al-Farabi*

#### 41- Risâle fi Isbâti'l-Müfârakât

Al-Farabi attempts to prove the existence of celestial minds, which are assumed to be present beyond the moon in a state of abstraction and are responsible for the motion of celestial bodies.

#### 42- Risâle fi'l-Hala

In this brief work, al-Farabi attempts to clarify whether there is void in the universe.

#### 43- Risâle fi'l-Vâhidi ve'l-Vahdeti

Based on the number One, which is ranked in first order of the numeric scale which did not yet include zero, the problem of Unity is investigated.

#### 44- Kitâbü'l-l-Mûsîka'l-Kebîr

Although Kitâbü'l-Mûsîka'l-Kebîr stated to have been written by 930 upon the request of Ebû Ca'fer Muhammed ibn Kasım, vizier of el-Kerhîer-Râzî-Billâh, Abbasid Caliphate was designed as two volumes in order to complete the works written in the field of music till the era of Fârâbî, we have no information about whether it was completed. Only 6 copies from the first volume has reached today.<sup>60</sup>

The work published by Ğattâs Abdülmelik Hasebe and Mahmûd Ahmed el-Hifnî on the basis of Leiden, Köprülü and Princeton copies<sup>61</sup> was translated into French by Rodolphe d'Erianger and printed in La Musique Arabe.<sup>62</sup> In the section of the first volume of the work titled el-Medhal ilâ Sinâ'ati'l-Mûsîka, description, classification and types of modes and creation of instruments, introduction to acoustic; highness and deepness of sound, natural sounds, tones and types in lute are discussed.

And in the second section subjects including creation of the sound, highness and deepness of the same, tones, octave, degrees and types of sorts are discussed. Later scales and types thereof, serial rules îkâ and types thereof are emphasized. The philosopher who tries to give information about lute and tamboura following that firstly discusses chords, scale and frets of lute and then comprehensive information about Baghdat tamboura, Khorasan tamboura, mizmâr, sûrnây, rebab ve mi'zef is given. At the end of the work, he discusses the issues of musical composition, watching and passing rules as well as îkâ and its types, lyrics and properties thereof, performance of musical composition.

He not only transfers the ideas of Greek authors about music and states that the information about the music inherited from the Greek to the Islam world and makes

60. Six copies of Mûsîkâ'l-Kebîr are known provided two of them are in Turkish libraries (Köprülü, 953; Râgıb Paşa 876) and four of them are abroad in (Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, 241; Milano Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 289; Leiden Universiteits Bibliotheek, Or., 651; Princeton University Library, Garrett, 1984).

61. Cairo 1967.

62. Paris 1930, I; Paris 1935, II, 1-101.

certain corrections on music theory. Toward the end of the book, he tries to give more comprehensive information about lute which is known to be the instrument with which easiest applications can be performed with respect to audial system. Within this framework the frets on the lute were indicated in the form of tables and frets and chord systems of Khorasan and tambouras were explained in detail.

This work of Al-Farabi who is understood to be a good performer is accepted to be the most comprehensive and systematic work written on music theory in Islamic and Western world. As a matter of fact the influence of Al-Farabi is clearly observed in all musical works from Avicenna to Hoca Abdülkâdir-i Merâgi.

#### 45. Kitâbu'l-Îkâ

In the introduction section of Kitâbu'l-Îkâ, the second work written by Al-Farabi on music it is stated that the issues mentioned in Kitâbü'l-Mûsîkâ would be discussed in more detail herein.<sup>63</sup>

#### 46. Kitâbu İhsâi'l-Îkâ'ât

It is considered that the last work written by Al-Farabi on music was "Kitâbu İhsâi'l-Îkâ'ât". Because at the beginning of the work reference is made to Kitâbu'l-Mûsîkâ'l-Kebîr and he repeats the information about îkâ in Kitâbu'l-îkâ'ât in general terms.

Al-Farabi mentions about the reason for writing this work and mentions about the method he would follow briefly the introduction section of the work and then explains Îkâ and basic concepts on Îkâ.

And he states at the end of the work that İshâk el-Mevsilî mentioned about this science before him. He gives the name of the work of İshâk el-Mevsilî named "Kitâbün fî te'lîfîn-Neğam" which is lost today and states

that it had been the most valuable source written up to then on that subject. Furthermore he states that Kindî transferred the ideas of İshak el-Mevsilî about îkâ as they are without researching accuracy thereof and for this reason he made mistakes and strictly criticizes him. Furthermore he states that certain false ideas of Kindî were repeated in the work of Mansûr ibn Talha et-Tâhirî named "Kitâbu'l-Mûnis". Although it was considered that those two works were the same in the past, since two different scripts have reached today it has been understood that Farabi wrote two separate works on ika.<sup>64</sup>

#### 47. el-Fusûlu'l-Mecmûa

Although this work, which is thought to be comprised of select sections of "Arâu Ehli'l-Medîneti'l-Fâdila" or "Kitâbu'l-Mille", is not found in classical Islamic sources, three copies of it have survived in Oxford library (Bodleian, 178 (6); Michael, 77, Kauffmann, 26).<sup>65</sup>

#### 48. Kitâbün fî İlmi'l-Mîzâc

This work, which is not listed among the sources of classic Islamic thought, has been translated into Latin as "De Tempore" by an anonymous translator and one copy of this translation is still present in Oxford (Bodleian, 6605) today.<sup>66</sup>

#### 49. Kitâbu'l-Mekâyîs

Four copies of the Hebrew translation this work, which mentioned by İbn Ebi Useybia under the same title<sup>67</sup>, have survived in various libraries of Europe: Munich (Hebr., 630), Oxford (Bodleian, Hebr., 402), Vienna (Hebr., 130), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Hebr., 133).<sup>68</sup>

64. Kitâbu İhsâi'l-Îkâ'ât located between 59a and 89b foils of the journal in Manisa Provincial Public Library registered with the number of 1705 has reached today as one copy. This work of Al-Farabi was completely translated into German by Eckhard Neubauer in 1994 as a whole and published in Oriens journal with the name of Die Theorie vom Îqâ'. II. Übersetzung des Kitâb İhsâ' al-Îqâ'ât von Abû Nasr Al-Fârâbî.

65. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 89. Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV), p. 143; Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Age*, II, p. 495.

66. C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans.), p. 148.

67. İbn Ebi Useybia, *Age*, p. 609.

68. Moritz Steinschneider, *Age*, p. 89; Conveyed by C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, (Arabic trans., IV, p. 144.)

63. Kitâbu'l-îkâ, the copy between 160b-167a foils of the script numbered 1878 in Topkapı Palace Ahmet III Library has reached today as a whole. Kitâbu'l-îkâ was completely translated into German by Eckhard Neubauer in 1968 and published in Oriens journal with the name "Die Theorie vom Îqâ'. I. Übersetzung des Kitâb al-Îqâ'ât von Abû Nasr Al-Fârâbî".



*A Pythagoras Miniature Made in the 13th Century (From İbn Fatik's work named Muhtârü'l-Hikem, Topkapı Palace), Istanbul*

# PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy of al-Farabi, who is among the founding thinkers of Islamic thought, begins with Metaphysics, which examines the reason of being, the God -the creator of being- and titles of God. Thence, the thinker, who commences on the topic of emergence and creation of beings that are composed of substance and abundance, by God, which is isolated from substance, plain, One and Unique (Vahid-Ahad), seeks an answer to how beings of substance came to emerge from a non-material creator. He wants to find a consistent and extensive explanation about the emergence of plain and non-material beings without contradicting the insight of monotheist creation, which comprises the first part of the question. He must explain in such a way that the first being to emerge from God, which is plain, non-material, One (Vahid) and Unique (Ahad), should similarly be non-material, plain, non-abundant One and Unique being.

## a-Metaphysics

Also influenced by Aristotle, al-Farabi attempts to explain that this first being that emanates from the God is the Mind, and that the mind, which is supposed to think (reason) by its nature, thinks both of its creator God and of itself, thus bringing forth the beings of the supra-lunar universe, which are named aether (Esir) due to their constitution of a plain substance and to systemize the issue.

The thinker who assumes that celestial bodies are present along with minds in the supra-lunar universe, thus tries to answer how the intangible and plain being, which is the backbone of the problem, brought forth visible, tangible beings of material constitution without losing

its properties. The thinker, who utilized the theories of Psychology (Soul), Cosmology (Astronomy) and Nature (Physics), which he borrowed from Aristotle, reports that the celestial bodies are in motion and that the force which provides this motion should be the a soul (Soul-Mind-Intelligence) that enables such motion.

Al-Farabi, who thinks that beings of sublunary worlds are of material constitution, and as a natural consequence, are subject to generation and decay, primarily due to the constitution of the sublunary worlds, which are made of the four primal elements (air, water, earth and fire), namely the basic building blocks of matter, states that it is the Active Intellect, plain as the God, which sets the beings of sublunary worlds into action. Thereby, the theory of Intellect -non-material, plain yet coexisting with matter- emerges, which makes up backbone of al-Farabi thought. Within the context of theory of intellect, al-Farabi later seeks and answer to the question of how the organization of the material world is governed by such plain intellect, namely the mind, while still being subject to the well-accepted laws. The basic analysis of al-Farabi's philosophy, known as theory of cosmological intellects, would later become a fundamental argument of the Peripatetic school.

## b-Epistemology (The Problem of Knowledge)

Since the subject is on mind and intellect, questions on how the mind functions and how the resulting phenomenon of knowledge occurs will be raised inevitably. This is because the human intellect conceptualizes the material objects by abstracting them of their matter, perceives them so, and stores and appropriately uses them in due time. Given as a rudimentary postulate that no one but God has the power to create anything, how could the phenomenon called knowledge come to pass in al-Farabi's thought?

At this point, theory of epistemological intellects, which is the second section of al-Farabi's thought, comes into play. On that note, al-Farabi defines the matter using Potential Intellect, which perceives matter as it is, and

designs various categories and devices of thinking (reasoning) such as Acquired Intellect which has the power to relate with Actual Intellect that abstracts it from its matter and turns it into perceivable material and Active Intellect that performs the act of perception. Thus, he comes up with a quite original explanation on how knowledge was formed, which was sufficient for his time and would be reiterated for a long time after him.

According to al-Farabi, the function of the mind is manifested in two different fields and with two different meanings. Thus, he differentiates (epistemological) intellect which is a mechanism that allows us to know the object by abstracting it from its material quality, from (cosmological) intellect, as a mechanism which is operative in everything from the formation to operation of the universe. So, he evaluates the intellect that produces knowledge and the intellect that ensures orderly operation of the universe separately.

First of all, al-Farabi investigates how human intellect can abstract a material object and converts it into a non-material state. The philosopher, acting based on Aristotle's distinction of intention and action, reports that something in the state of intention would require the intervention of another force in order to turn into action, and that without external intervention, nothing could rise into a state of action from a state of intention on its own. Therefore, human intellect that is in a state of intention, cannot produce knowledge by itself. The power to transform it from the state of intention into the state of action should be in perpetual action so that it can also transform human intellect from the state of intention into the state of action. The power, which is in perpetual action, and which converts the intellect -that is the human faculty of knowledge- from intention to action, thereby enabling it to acquire knowledge, is the Active Intellect.

Al-Farabi, who first divides the intellect as Theoretical and Practical in this context, also examines the Theoretical intellect under three categories which are Potenti-

al intellect, Actual or habitual intellect and Acquired intellect, respectively. Above all these is the Active (Agent) Intellect, which enables the realization of the phenomenon of knowledge.

The system operates as follows: Potential intellect abstracts the forms of object from their material and convert it into concept. Noumenon, while could be potentially intellectualized before it could be known by the potential intellect, are actually intellectualized upon knowing by the actual intellect. Once such noumena are actually known, knowing it becomes a habit for the mind. Therefore, Actual intellect is also called Habitual intellect.

Two kinds of noumena exist: one is its existence ingrained in objects before it was known (Material-Concrete) and the other is its existence ingrained in the mind after being known (Spiritual-Abstract). Once the mind abstracts these noumena from their material and knows them, the process of knowing is complete. Hence, the mind becomes capable of knowing not only the material objects but also objects abstracted from their material, and that stage is the stage of Acquired intellect. Once Actual intellect, which conceives noumena that are abstracted from their material i.e. objects, attains the ability to perceive different forms (abstraction), it becomes Acquired intellect. According to the philosopher, celestial intellects are noumena that never had substance and never will, i.e. abstract beings. The range of intellects belonging to man is limited at the stage of Acquired intellect.

Once man reaches the stage of Acquired intellect, his intellect fuses with Active intellect, then, "Allah (SWT), Victorious and Almighty, reveals him through Active intellect. Thus, if through Acquired intellect, Active intellect passes on what was imparted on it (inspiration) by mighty and absolved Allah, first to Passive intellect of man and then relays it to his power of Imagination. Therefore, man who can know completely through the (inspiration) which was passed from Active intellect to Passive intellect, is called a philosopher or sage. The man who heralds immediate particular happenings through

inspiration, and warns of what is to come in the future, is called a Prophet (herald).”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, according to al-Farabi, the Prophet and the Philosopher are the two people who deserve to be the head of the virtuous city. Both acquire the laws and legislations required to preserve the order in the society through a connection with the Active intellect. For the Prophet, such connection occurs through power of Imagination, whereas for the philosopher it occurs through power of the mind, i.e. through research and analysis. However, the source for both is the same. Nevertheless what the prophet states through prophecy and the knowledge acquired by the philosopher through the mind do not contradict, but complete and support each other. Then, the source of religion and philosophy are the same and it is the Active intellect. The only truth is what emerges and spreads from the Active intellect, and that which inspires and overflows.

Al-Farabi, thus exhibiting the intimate relation between revelation and philosophy, later tried to reconcile the views of the idealist philosopher Plato and of the realist philosopher Aristotle. According to him, the truth is unique and both Aristotle and Plato depict this one truth in different phrasing and methods. Since both philosophers depict the truth, it is possible reconvene the seemingly different ideas they describe using different terms at different times and under different conditions at a common ground, thus create a common view in terms of philosophy.

Al-Farabi who attempts to unite the views of both philosophers in this manner also attempts to draw parallels between Islamic thought and Hellenistic thought.

Al-Farabi begins to explain the rules of formation of organized knowledge, where we come across logical knowledge as the tool for accurate thinking after explaining the formation of knowledge (phenomenon of knowing). One of the most common and perfect aspects of al-Farabi philosophy is the discipline of classical

Logic, which he took over from Aristotle and enriched and methodized.

### **c-Views on Logic**

The most remarkable and persistent – both in the Islamic world and in the Medieval Latin or Hebrew worlds, abstract subject of al-Farabi’s thought after intellect, soul and spirit, is the discipline of Logic and his successful comments on Aristotelian logic.

According to al-Farabi, while producing knowledge, human mind first creates concepts, and then comes to conclusions using these concepts, i.e. postulates. Language is an external conversation, whereas Logic is an internal conversation. Therefore, rules of grammar dictate the means of understanding within a society speaking that language, whereas Logic dictates the rules on the activity of thinking for all mankind. Al-Farabi not only provided solid terminology for Logic, but with his explanations and comments, also turned it into the foundation of scientific method.

With the help of work done by previous Aristotle commentators, he brought important innovations to the field of Formal Logic and paid special attention to the theory of Analogy and Proof, which were not elaborated by previous commentators. His analyses in this field would be a basis for all Logicians to come. It’s of note that concepts and propositions, which are important topics of logic, which was methodized by al-Farabi, do not appear in Aristotle’s works.

### **d-Ontology (philosophy of being)**

Al-Farabi attempts to form his views on being within his own systematic of Logic, and without disrupting the cosmic integrity of the universe or ignoring causality. Since philosophical knowledge, which is also a being, is the knowledge of being, it is universal knowledge that allows us to conceive being as a whole. Therefore, any knowledge put forth by the philosopher, which he derived from Logic, is supposed to conceive and compass being as a whole.

1. *Fârâbî, Ârâû Ehli’l-Medîneti’l-Fâdila*, pp. 85-87.

Being the most general concepts human intellect can conceive, being cannot be defined, because definition is composed of species and differentia. Since there is not a more universal concept to encompass being, defining it is not possible either. Any effort to define this simple and plain concept would just stimulate the mind and would not be anything but a recursion of the known.

Therefore al-Farabi starts mentioning being from most perfect being, the “First Being” (God), which is of the highest rank, and descends to the simplest and least perfect *Prima materia* (Hyle), which is of the lowest rank. At the first level among ranks of being is the being of God, which is the highest being human intellect can conceive, and at the second stage reside the celestial minds (minds dissociated from matter). Al-Farabi calls these secondary beings. He reports that the number of these is equal to the number of celestial spheres, and mentions nine intellects corresponding to nine celestial bodies according to Cosmology. Later known as theory of Intellects, would not only be embraced by all Islamic philosophers, but also form the basis of Medieval Latin and Hebrew thought.

According to al-Farabi, including the Active Intellect, the number of intellects totals to ten. Each of these intellects emanate from the previous intellect and are the cause of the next intellect. The thinker claims that these are alive and correspond to angels and spiritual beings. Moreover, he presents the Active Intellect as Gabriel or Holy Spirit. Just as Gabriel provides a connection between prophets, each of whom are humans, the Active Intellect provides a connection between supra-lunar worlds and sublunary worlds, or between the celestial world and the human world. On the other hand, al-Farabi reports that everything in the universe is made of Hyle and Form. Substance and Form are mutually essential, without one the other cannot exist. Substance is in a passive state and accepts the shape it is given, Form on the other hand, is in an active state and shapes the substance.

Just as in Aristotelian philosophy, the topic of universals are of significant importance also in al-Farabi's philosophy of being. Al-Farabi, who divides being into two as universals and individuals, names the individuals which form the substance existence first substance, because these are objects our senses first perceive directly. The universals, which are the building blocks of our knowledge and are acquired by our mind as a result of abstraction, are called second substances. Being of immaterial nature, second substances are not subject to change.

In al-Farabi thought, Being is divided into two as Necessary and Contingent. When we speak of being in general, we state that being is either Necessary, Contingent or Impossible.

Necessary Being is also divided into two as Necessary-by-itself and Necessary-by-other: the being which does not require any other cause in order to exist and maintain its existence is called Necessary-by-itself. Its non-existence is inconceivable. Indeed, assuming its non-existence is logically impossible. The absolutely necessary is only Allah (SWT). Being, which is Contingent in its essence but is contingent relative to other is called Necessary-by-other.

We call the being, whose existence depends on others, Contingent being. We can think of both existence and non-existence of Contingent being. Such thinking does not lead to any logical contradictions. All beings, except Allah, are Contingent beings.

Impossible beings are those whose existence is never possible.

### **e-Theory of Emergence and Cosmological Intellects**

We have previously stated that al-Farabi attempted to explain God's relation with the universe through the theory of cosmological intellects. According to this, God is One and Unique and is excluded of all substance, the universe on the other is of substance and abundance. So, how did beings composed of abundance came to be from One and Unique God?



*A Library in Hülvan around Baghdad in the 13th Century and the book readers (from Hariri's Makâmât)*



Miniature of certain Greek Philosophers Made in the 13th Century (From Galenos' Arabic Book of Macunlar)

First and foremost, al-Farabi initiates a special theory named theory of Emergence in order to emphasize the fundamental difference -that contradicts with the perception of pure Unity of Islam- between absolute, excluded and eternal God, who is the One and only and unique, therefore cannot be conceived fully by human intellect power, and Contingent beings (universe and those in it), which can be perceived by man's perception, is of substance, came to be in time, and has the quality of abundance.

According to this, since God, who is the source of all goodness, glory and perfection, is not dependent on anything, expects nothing of lower beings, and thereby does not have a motive about their actions. Therefore, God's thinking of being is sufficient cause for being to emerge. God who is absolute, knows of itself and of all that came to exist; not only is It known by all beings, but also It knows itself and is aware that it is known. Hence it is called both intellect, that which knows and that which is known.

God's self-knowing is sufficient cause for being to emerge. The first intellect of non-substance emanates through God's self-knowing. Such intellect is a necessary being in relation to Allah, and is a Contingent being in essence. Second intellect, emanating from first intellect's knowledge of God, knows that it is a Contingent being, hence the soul and substance of first sphere emanates. Third intellect, emanating from second intellect's knowledge of God, knows that it is a Contingent being, hence the soul and substance of second sphere, namely the sphere of stars emanates.

According to this theory, every intellect forms another intellect and a celestial sphere along with its soul. This goes on for seven planets, which is the number of planets than known in the solar system, and ends with the Active intellect, which is the intellect of the moon sphere. The Active intellect, which is the tenth intellect, is assumed to be the reason for all generation and decay in the sublunary worlds.<sup>2</sup>

2 . Farabi, el-Medinetü'l-fädila, pp. 61-62.

Al-Farabi, who attempted to apply this theory to the Cosmic system, establishes his system according to Cosmology, which is well-accepted since Aristotle. According to this, universe is composed of sublunary and supra-lunar worlds. Motion in the supra-lunar worlds is circular motion, which is the perfect motion, therefore there is no change here. There is one element in the supra-lunar world, which is thinner-than-air Aether. In the sublunary worlds, all beings are made up of the Four Elements, consisting of air, water, earth and fire.

The motion of the celestial spheres, which are the first beings in the sublunary worlds, is circular and they are in constant rotation due their desire and fervor towards the Creator. The Four Elements are formed because of the friction between these spheres during the rotation. There is (still) no place for void in the universe. The elements have four separate qualities: warm, cold, wet and dry. From the mixture of opposing qualities, rocks, metals, plants and animals emerge.

During the period before the discovery of gravity, these cosmological approaches based on Aristotelian physics were considered valid in every field.

Based on Aristotelian physics, al-Farabi divides motion into two as voluntary and involuntary. According to him, the motion, which transpires as generation, decay, translation, increase-decrease and transformation, is motion along a linear or circular path.

According to the thinker, who views the problem of Space and Time within this scope, motion occurs in time. Therefore time, which is composed of moments and is of continuous nature, can only exist with motion. Space, on the other hand, is an abstract concept and cannot be perceptible. However, for every substance there is a place it yearns to reach, and it is called the Locus in Peripatetic Islamic Philosophy.

### **f-Views on the Soul**

Following Aristotle, as well as using the common term spirit, al-Farabi prefers the term Soul, which is more ex-

tensive than spirit and includes all biological, physiological and psychological activities. Just as in Aristotelian tradition, he describes the Soul as the first ability of the natural organic substance that is form of force.<sup>3</sup>This description would be valid for long time in Medieval Islam and Christian thoughts.

According to him, Soul is a plain essence, independent of the body, and consists of the forms of the body. As in the entirety of his system, al-Farabi who strives to combine Aristotelian perception of the soul with Platonist perception of the soul, divides the Soul into three as Vegetative, sensitive and intellective. Vegetative Soul is the one with the nutritive, augmentative and generative powers common to all living beings. In addition to these, Sensitive Soul, has the powers of action and sensing. He reports that the most developed part of the Soul is the intellective soul, which is the center of powers of knowledge and intellect, and he calls this “thinking/speaking Soul”. This view on the Soul, which al-Farabi tried to methodize, would later be put into excellent structure by Avicenna, and would be the dominant view in the Western thought up to 18th century, and in the Islamic thought until today.

---

<sup>3</sup> . Farabi, *el-Msailü'l-Felsefiyye*, p. 108.

*Toledo School of  
Translation where  
Al-Farabi's works are  
translated into Latin*



## INFLUENCE

Al-Farabi who is indisputably the founder philosopher of Islam philosophy has influenced almost all of the thinkers following him to some degree. Even saying Al-Farabian philosophy is an extended annotation or footnote of the entire Islam philosophy is not an exaggeration. He created a small model of the great Islamic thought universe of the future with his works he authored in the fields of Philosophy, Theology, Logic, Music, Ethics, State, Philosophy of politics and notion of Civilization. Since those who follow him developed and extended each subject that Al-Farabi discusses, no specific school following him arose and each thinker took something from him to some degree. As we stated before, the influences of Al-Farabi were not exclusive for Islamic world but the original ideas of the great philosopher sustained their influences during Middle Ages via Christian Latin and Jewish thought and survived to the metropolises of today's Western world.

### **a- Influences of Medieval Islamic, Christian and Jewish Thoughts**

The intellectual movement started by Al-Farabi developed in a short time in Eastern Islamic world and most of them lead to start of a period expressed as "Golden age" later in Islamic thought with the contributions of philosophers of Khorasan and Transoxiana origin.

Although those who were trained in Al-Farabi sphere failed to create a school in his name, many of the leading philosophers of post-Al-Farabi era were the students of his students. These include prestigious scientists and philosophers such as Ebû Süleyman es-Sicistânî who was lectured by Yahya İbn Adiy in Baghdad, Ebu Hay-

yân et-Tevhîdî, Ebû Bekir el-Kumsî, îsâ ibn Ali İbn Zür'a, İbnü's-Semh, İbnü'l-Hammâr, Ebu Muhammed el-Arûzî.

Farabian thought was continued by Ebu Zekeriyya Yahya ibn Adiy (d. 974), the Jocabian Christian philosopher who attracted attention particularly with his studies related to Logic after his death. We do not have much information about Yahya İbn Adiy. However İbn Ebi Useybia states that he was famous with copying books in Baghdad and was criticized by İbnü'n-Nedim, the author of famous el-Fihrist. Upon this, he defends himself and says he did not do anything requiring condemnation and copied approximately 100 foils of scripts in one day and night with hard work.<sup>1</sup>

İbn Ebi Useybia cites an interesting anecdote about his interest in books: "I saw the annotations of Alexander of Afrodisias written on Aristotle's books of Physics and Second Analytics in the heritages of İbrahim ibn Abdullah, the Christian translator. They proposed me to sell those two annotations for 120 dinars. I went to find the money. When I turned back, I was informed that they sold the two works to someone from Khorasan for 3.000 dinars together with certain books."<sup>2</sup>

Ebu Hayyân et-Tevhîdî who was given grammar lessons by Ebu Said es-Sîrâfî, the famous philologist and philosophy lessons by Yahya ibn Adiy ve Sicistanî earned his living by copying books as well. He explained many events which he witnessed and which reflects the thought scene of the era and carried the predominant understanding of the era to later periods in two-volume works named el-İmtâu ve'l-Muânese and el-Mukâbesât particularly including his ten-volume work named El-Basâir ve'z-Zahâir.

The great Islam philosopher and physician Avicenna is undoubtedly al-Farabi's greatest successor and follower of the Peripatetic tradition he started. Avicenna states in his own autobiography that he tried to develop his

---

1. İbn Ebi Useybia, Uyûnü'l-Enba fî Tabakâtî'l-etibba,, 106 (Neşr., Nizar Rıza), Beyrut-Terihsiz.

2. İbn Ebi Useybia, age., 106.

knowledge of philosophy reading Aristotle's works on Logical and Natural sciences but he did not understand anything although he read his book titled *Metaphysics*, finally he repeated it forty times and memorized but still he failed to comprehend the subject and he felt desperate for this reason. He states that as a result of a strange coincidence, a bellman tried to sell a book crying while he was passing through bibliopoles market one day in the afternoon, he did not want to purchase the book since he thought that this subject was unclear but when the seller told him to purchase that book and that it would be useful for him and it was very cheap due to financial problems of its owner and that he would sell it for 3 dirhems, he purchased the book and realized that this was Al-Farabi's book on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, he returned home fast and read the book and understood easily since he had memorized Aristotle's book and he gave charity to the poor in order to thank for this.<sup>3</sup>

Avicenna who mentions about Al-Farabi in many of his works says as follows in his work named *el-Mübâhasât*: "When it comes to Ebu Nasr el-Fârabi, one should believe him with great respect. He does not walk together with other communities in a square. He is more valuable than the leading ones of the previous ones."<sup>4</sup>

According to our detection, Avicenna was influenced by Al-Farabi reading his works beyond admiring him and adopted the notes making the same form of book. And this indicates how he adopted Al-Farabi's ideas.

The classical sources mentioning about Avicenna's life note that he wrote a work named *el-Birru ve'l-İsm* when he was 21-22 upon the request of a canonist of Harizm named Ebubekr el-Berkî.

We observed in the detailed research we conducted on this interest work that a great section of "*el-Birru ve'l-İsm*" was compiled exactly from Al-Farabi's work named *et-Tenbîhu alâ Sebîli's-Sa'âde*<sup>5</sup> exactly, and some part

of it was compiled again from Al-Farabi's work named *Fusûlu'l-Medenî*<sup>6</sup> by selecting, cutting and combining various paragraphs and sections. Again according to our detection, *el-Birru ve'l-İsm*" is one of a few works in which Avicenna recorded his name personally among the oeuvre which is a big total.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, the basic theses of recent Islamic thought tradition predominated by both Kelâm and Tasavvuf (Müteahhirûn) are continuity of Al-Farabian philosophy. Great part of Kelâm dominated thinking system of İmâm Gazzali, the great scholar and Fahreddin er-Razi, the canonist and glassator who traced him is connected to Farabian philosophy.

Kınalızâde, one of the significant thinkers of Ottoman era establishes a great section of his work named *Ahlâk-ı Alâî* on Al-Farabi's ethic philosophy and Civilization thought and sometimes cites from him saying "hakîm-i fâzil Muallim-i sânî, Bu Nasr-ı Fârâbî"<sup>8</sup>.

Al-Farabi's influences on Western Islam world are also tremendous. Avempace, ibn Tufail and Averroes, who are major representatives of the Andalusian thought, have not only spread al-Farabi's ideas in Muslim Spain, they enabled these ideas to go beyond Pyrenees and reach deep inside Continental Europe.

It is observed that İbn Bâcce took notes in sections of *İsaguci* (Vr., 6-45), *Perihemenias* (Vr., 45-48), *Theorems* (Vr., 71-98), *Categories* (Vr., 111-124) of Al-Farabi's Logic oeuvre particularly in a journal found among Escorial scripts dated 1269 and numbered 612.<sup>9</sup>

İbn Bâcce who states that Al-Farabi provided very important information about issues related to morality in

---

205-208.

6. Fârâbî, *Fusûlu'l-Medenî* (Neşr., M. Dunlop), 103-136.

7. Daha geniş bilgi için bakınız Bekir Karlığa, *Un Nouveau Traité d'Ethiques d'İbn Sînâ İnconnu jusq'a nos Jours* (Avicenna and his Heritage), 21-35, Leuven University Press, Belgium-2002.

8. Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi, *Ahlâk-Alâî*, 472, (transliterasyon, Fahri Unan), Ankara-2014.

9. Macid Fahri, *Resâilu İbn Bâcce el-İllâhiyye*, 16-17, Beyrut-1991.

3. İbn Ebi Useybia, age., 438.

4. İbn Sina, *el-Mübâhasât*, 375 (Neşr., Muhsin Bîdârfer) Tahran-1413.

5. Fârâbî, *et-Tenbîhu alâ Sebîli's-Sa'âde* (Neşr, Sahabân Halîfât), 190-198;



*A teacher giving Applied Astronomy and his students*

his work named *Risâletü'l-Veda* as well cites from *Intellect and Unity* booklets of the philosopher as well. İbn Bâcce bases his masterpiece named *Tedbîrü'l-Mütevahhid* where he expressed his basic philosophy on Al-Farabi's works named *el-Medînetü'l-Fâdila*, *es-Siyâsetü'l-Medenîyye* and *Fusûlü'l-Medenî* where Al-Farabi's ideas of civilization can be found. And his ideas about joining and happiness are usually based on Al-Farabi's ideas on this issue. Nevertheless İbn Bâcce never mentions about the name of Avicenna.<sup>10</sup>

10. Macid Fahri, age., 23.

Since Averroes, the great Islam philosopher constructed his philosophical and scientific paradigm more frequently on the idea of rearranging Aristotle philosophy which was the predominant thought of the era correctly and the same as original tried to revive realist and rationalist Aristotle philosophy to replace Neo-Platonist, emanation and theosophical Peripatetic philosophy prior to him. At that point he criticizes Avicenna as much as and even more violently İmâm Gazzâlî whom we know that he criticizes. Nevertheless he both respects the ideas of Al-Farabi on certain works of whom he wrote

annotations<sup>11</sup> but also adopts most of his ideas about Logic, Metaphysics, Ethic and politics. He makes many references to him particularly including Tehâfütü't-Tehâfüt and Faslu'l-Makâl.

Averroes who attempts to explain the issues discussed by Plato in State dialogue usually performs comparisons with Al-Farabi's understanding of city and civilization. We can observe that most of the issues he expresses are Al-Farabi's ideas although he mentions his name very rarely.

Averroes provides information about civilized sciences before annotating summary of Plato's state dialogue. Within this framework, he states that the subject of this science is voluntary acts emanating from person and its principle is will and selection as expressed by Al-Farabi as well. Later he states that this science was divided into two sections and one was habits, voluntary acts and good habits and the other is incorporation of those characters in the human and establishes parallelism between the city and human body as Al-Farabi does. Furthermore he repeats his idea specifying that Al-Farabi's human perfection is of four types namely theoretical and mental virtues, intellectual namely scientific virtues, ethical virtues and plastic arts.<sup>12</sup>

Al-Farabi's influence on Western world is no less than his influence on Islamic world. It will be correct to discuss those influences as two sections namely Jewish Hebrew thought and Christian Latin world. Al-Farabi's ideas have been very influential on Jewish thought through Jewish religious and philosophical scholar Maimonides. Jewish thinkers attempted to express Al-Farabi's ideas by means of him. Since İbn Meymun (Maimonides) paid significance particularly to his ideas about Logic, Hebrew thinkers were more frequently interested in his ideas about Logic. Even it is stated that İbn Meymun (Maimonides) said: "When it comes to the works related to logic, it is sufficient to study merely the works of Ebu Nasr el-Fârâbî. all of his works are

perfect and excellent. Those works should be examined and researched. Because he is a great man."<sup>13</sup>

It is observed that the ideas of the philosopher whom we see to have been influential in Latin world through Albertus Magnus and his pupil Saint Thomas were common in Western world till eighteenth century although this influence diminished gradually.

Upon the beginning of translations from Arabic to Latin in the Middle Age, 9 of the works of Al-Farabi, who was the focal point of western researchers and one of the philosophers that attracted the attention of the world -as far as we know- were translated to Latin and 27 were translated to Hebrew. Today we have the chance to read some works of Al-Farabi the original Arabic copies of which were lost only from Latin and Hebrew translations or from Arabic texts written with Hebrew alphabet.

While Western world had a chance to know al-Farabi in detail upon these translations, it is not possible to say that his recognition could compare to that of Avicenna or Averroes. However, al-Farabi's influence on Hebrew scholars and intellectuals, has been greater than that of these two scholars. Famous Jewish scholar and Rabbi Maimonides valued him greatly as we mentioned above, hence turning him into a trend among Hebrews, and resulting in adoption of al-Farabi as a teacher among Jewish scholars.

### **b- Al-Farabi Studies of Today**

Al-Farabi is one of the philosophers who have not lost his popularity for many centuries. Al-Farabi who was frequently discussed between 11th-17th centuries in the Western world as an active philosopher began to attract western researchers' interest again from mid-nineteenth century after a break of two centuries.

The researches related to Islamic philosophy which had been in great silence in Islamic world at the end of Te-

11. Bkz. Bekir Karlığa, Batı'yı aydınlatan İslam düşünürü İbn Rüşd, 63. İstanbul-2014.

12. İbn Rüşd, ed-Daruri fi's-Siyâse, Muhtasaru Kitabü'si Siyâse li Eflatun, 72-74 (İbranice'den Arapçaya çeviren: Ahmed Şahlan), Beyrut-1998.

13. Moses Maimonides (Musa İbn Meymun), The Guide for the Perplexed, (tr., Salomon Pines, Girş, IX), Chicago-London-1963; nakleden, Deborah L. Black, Farabi (Seyyid Hüseyin Nasr-Oliver Leeman, İslam Felsefesi Tarihi içinde), I, 230.

hafüt discussions started to revive from the first quarter of the twentieth century some time after its beginning in the West though slowly.

Aimable Jourdain's article discussing the references made by Guillaume d'Auvergny and Roger Bacon to Al-Farabi while mentioning about Latin translations of Aristotle's works is deemed to be the first of the studies on this subject.<sup>14</sup> This was followed by the study of Auguste Schmoelders named Document from Arabic Philosophy. Schmoelders published Arabic original and Latin translation of two works of Al-Farabi named "Fi ma yenbaği en yukaddeme kable taalümi'l-felsefe" and "Uyûnü'l-mesail" in his doctorate thesis which he wrote in Latin.<sup>15</sup>

The work of Moritz Steinchneider who concentrated on Al-Farabi's Latin and Hebrew translations named "Al-Fârâbî (Alpharabius)" published in 1869 by Petersburg Empire Academy publications is still a significant source which is currently valid.<sup>16</sup>

Steinchneider who sustained his studies about Al-Farabi's translations to Hebrew in the Middle Age made comprehensive explanations particularly about Al-Farabi's works translated to Hebrew in 1893 in his work titled "Hebrew translations and Jewish translators in the Middle Age" which has not been passed over yet in his field.<sup>17</sup>

Salomon Munk allocated a section to Al-Farabi for the first time in his work named "Selections from Jewish and Arabic Philosophy" published in 1857 and attracted the attention to the influences of the philosopher on Moïse Maimonides and Albert the Great.<sup>18</sup>

14. Aimable Jourdain, Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions Latines d'Aristote et sur commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par les docteurs scolastiques, 112 vd., Paris-1819.

15. Auguste Schmoelders, Documenta Philosophia Arabum, 125-134, Bonn-1836.

16. Moritz Steinchneider, Mémoire de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, Série VII, Vol. XIII, Petersbourg, 1869.

17. Moritz Steinchneider, Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher, Berlin-1893.

18. Salomon Munk, Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe, Paris-1857.



Latin translation of one work of Al-Farabi

F. Wustenfeld provides information on Al-Farabi's works translated from Latin in his article named "Works translated from Arabic to Latin from the eleventh century" published in 1877.<sup>19</sup>

J. Forget researches the influences of Kindi and Al-Farabi on the Latin in his article named "Influences of Arabic Philosophy on Scholastic philosophy" published in 1894.<sup>20</sup>

Carra de Vaux allocated an extensive section for Al-Farabi in his seven-volume work named "History of Islam Philosophers" which was completed in 1921.<sup>21</sup>

19. F. Wustenfeld, Die Übersetzungen Werke in des Lateinische seit dem XI Jahrhundert, Göttingen-1877.

20. J. Forget, l'influence de la Philosophie Arabe sur la Philosophie Scolastique (Revue Néoscholastique de philosophie, I, 385-410), Paris-1894.

21. Carra de Vaux, Les Penseurs de l'Islam, Paris-1921.

Rudolphe d'Earlenger translated famous Music book of Al-Farabi to French and published in 1930.<sup>22</sup>

It is observed that special sections are allocated for Al-Farabi in the books published under the titles of Arabic philosophy, Islamic thought and Islamic Philosophy from the twentieth century. inline with this, the attempts of criticized publications of Al-Farabi's works and translation of the same to modern languages started firstly in the West, then in the Islamic world.

Dietrici who made the first attempt about publication of Al-Farabi's works published certain small booklets of the philosopher between 1890-1892<sup>23</sup> and Arabic original of "el-Maînetü'l-Fadıla" in 1895.<sup>24</sup>

Arabic text of nine works of Al-Farabi was published in Egypt for the first time without criticism in Hijri 1325 (Anno Domini 1907).<sup>25</sup> Ten booklets of him not included herein was published by Dâiretü'l-Maârifî'l-Osmaniye in India (Haydarâbâd Dekkan) in Hijri 1245 (Anno Domini 1926).<sup>26</sup>

Through critical publications started later, some of the works of the great philosopher were published by Maurice Bouyges, Osman Emîn, Francesco Gabrielli, Franz Roashental, D. M. Dunlop, Mübahat Küyel, Aydın Sayılı, Muhsin Mehdi, Macid Fahri, Ğattas Abdülmelik, Muhammed Selim Salim, Alber Nasri Nader, Fevzi Mitri Neccar, Ca'fer Alü Yâsîn and Sahbân Halifat.

When it comes to the researches related to Al-Farabi in the Islamic world, first of all İbrahim Madkour's doctorate thesis which took its place in Al-Farabi's Islamic philosophy schools was published in 1934.<sup>27</sup> Madkour

attempted to reveal significance of Al-Farabi in Islamic philosophy in his work related to Islamic philosophy which he authored later.<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, Muhsin Mehdi who dedicated his life to the subject of Al-Farabi both made critical publication of certain works of Al-Farabi<sup>29</sup> and discussed and assessed ideas of Al-Farabi about political philosophy in detail in his work titled Establishment of political philosophy in Islam.<sup>30</sup>

The works conducted in our country who participated in this caravan most recently include firstly Al-Farabi booklet authored by Mehmed Ali Ayni Bey<sup>31</sup>, the article titled "Two Turkish Philosophers, Al-Farabi and Avicenna" authored by İsmail Hakkı of İzmir<sup>32</sup>; the article on "Turkish Philosopher, Al-Farabi" authored by Şemsettin Günaltay<sup>33</sup>; Al-Farabi clause authored by Adnan Adıvar for Islam Encyclopedia and later published independently;<sup>34</sup> the article of Aydın Sayılı on the place of Al-Farabi in the history of Turkish thought<sup>35</sup>; Nihat Keklik's valuable studies on Al-Farabi Logic<sup>36</sup> Mübahat Küyel's Book where he discussed being thought of Aristotle and Al-Farabi<sup>37</sup>; publications of Hilmi Ziya Ülken on Islamic thought<sup>38</sup>.

28. İbrahim Madkûr, Fi'l-Felsefeti il-İslâmiyye, I, II, Kâhire-1983.

29. Muhsin Mehdi, Fârâbî, Felsefetu Aristotalis, Beyrut-1961; Kitâbü'l-Mille ve Nusûsun Uhrâ, Beyrut-1968; el-Elfâzu'l-Musta'mele fi'l-Mantık, Beyrut-1968; Kitâbü'l-Hurûf, Beyrut-1969.

30. Muhsian Mahdi, La Fondation de la Philosophie Politique en Islam, (Fransızcaya çeviren, Francois Zabbal), Paris-2000.

31. Mehmed Ali Ayni, Farabi, İstanbul, 1332.

32. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, İki Türk filozofu, Farabi ve İbn Sina (Darü'l-Fünûn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası), İstanbul-1927.

33. M. Şemseddin Günaltay, Türk filozofu Farabi (Dârü'l-Fünûn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası), İstanbul-1922.

34. Adnan Adıvar, Farabi, İstanbul-1947.

35. Aydın Sayılı, Farabînin Türk tefekkür tarihindeki yeri, (Belleten, cilt XV, sayı 57), Ankara-1951.

36. Nihat Keklik, İslam Mantık tarihi ve Farabi Mantığı, İstanbul-1969.

37. Mübahat Türker Küyel, Aristoteles ve Farabi'nin varlık ve düşünce öğretileri, Ankara- 1974.

38. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, La Pensée de l'Islam, İstanbul-1953; İslam Felsefesi tarihi,

22. Rudolphe d'Earlenger, Grande Traité de la Musique, I-II, Paris-1930.

23. Friedrich Dietrici, es-Semeretü'l-Mardiyye fi ba'di'r-Resâil'i-Fârâbiyye, Leiden-1890.

24. Friedrich Dietrici, Fârâbî, Arâu ehli'il-Medîneti'l-Fâdıla, Leiden-1895.

25. Mecmûatün min Müellefâti'l-Fârâbî, Matbaatüs-Saâde, Kâhire-1325.

26. Farabi Resâil (Neşr, Dâiretü'l-Maârifî'l-Osmaniyye), Haydarâbâd, Dekkan 1345.

27. İbrahim Madkour, la Place d'al-Farabi dans l'Ecole Philosophique Musulmane, Paris 1934.

# DE CONSERVANDA BONA VALETVDINE, Liber Scholæ Salernitanæ.



DE ANIMI PATHEMATIS, ET  
*remedijs quibusdam generalibus.*  
CAPVT I.

African Konstantin in Salerno city of Italy while he is reading the works translated from Arabic

Particularly as a result of the studies which started from 1950 and conducted by Ahmed Ateş, Nafiz Danişman, Aydın Sayılı, Mübahat Küyel, Hüseyin Atay, Mehmet Aydın, Ahmet Arslan, Mahmut Kaya brought certain works of Al-Farabi Oeuvre into Turkish although not completely.

## c- Farabian Influence Today

### 1. Etienne Gilson

Etienne Gilson, famous French historian of philosophy who brought significance of Medieval thought into the agenda again in the twentieth century and revealed the impossibility of comprehending contemporary thought without having knowledge about Medieval thought through objective assessments emphasized significance of Islamic thought in addition to Medieval Scholastic thought in terms of contemporary thought. Gilson who is one of the most remarkable and scholar of our century with his works in the fields of both Medieval Christian and Islamic thought and esthetic and philosophy of religion was trained by the famous philosophers of the era including Victor Brochard, Gabriel Seailles, Victor Delbos, Lucien Levy Bruhl and Andre Lalande.

Gilson who emphasizes significance of Al-Farabi thought particularly emphasizes the Theory of Intellects who deeply affected Al-Farabi's Medieval Jewish and Christian thought. After discussing Al-Farabi's Theory of Intellects in detail in his article titled Greek and Arabic Sources of Augustinism which was transformed into Avicennism (Les Sources Greco-Arabes de l'Augustinsme Avicennisant) he published the Latin text titled "Liber Alpharabii De Intellectu et Intellecto" of the work titled Risale f'il-Akli ve'l-Ma'kul in manuscript numbered 8802 found in Latin section of Paris Bibliorheque National.<sup>39</sup>

According to Gilson, Al-Farabi developed the Theory of Intellects which Aristotle attempted to explain in his work named De anima and attempts to make connections between ideas of Aristotle and Plato on soul on one

hand and between the understanding of God in Greek thought and Tevhid understanding of Islam on the other hand and mentions about 6 types of intellects.<sup>40</sup>

Gilson who states that Al-Farabi's Theory of Intellects has two significant points, first of these is the discrimination he makes between Active Intellect and the God. He even reveals that the first motor of Aristotle (Muharik-i Evvel) was completely different from the God. this approach which would be systemized by Avicenna and influenced Medieval Christian philosophers very much.<sup>41</sup>

The second significant issue introduced by Al-Farabi to the history of thought is müfarık intellects category he places between us and the God. Thus the philosopher calls us for joining with the God raising us over mental miraj and scale of intellects. Thus beyond pure thinking stipulated by classical Aristotileism, he takes to mystical joining with Active intellect and brings with the institution of prophecy outside Peripatetism.<sup>42</sup>

### 2. Leo Strauss

Strauss who was born in 1889 in Hessen state of Germany was the son of a Jewish family named Hugo Strauss and Jannie David. Leo who was interested in Zionist politics in his education period was later interested in philosophy. After studying in Marburg, Freiburg and Hamburg universities he had Doctorate of Philosophy with Ernest Cassirer, famous Kantist philosopher. Meanwhile he continued to attend Martin Heidegger's lectures. He went to England in 1934 and was employed in Cambridge University one year later.

When Hitler Fascism spread in Europe, he migrated to USA in 1937 and was employed in Columbia University, department of history.

Strauss who was employed in Chicago University as a Professor of Political Science from 1949 to 1968 was retired from Chicago University in 1967, continued to le-

39. Etienne Gilson, Les Sources Greco-Arabes de l'Augustinsme Avicennisant, 1-160, Paris-1986.

40. Etienne Gilson, agm., 5-6.

41. Etienne Gilson, agm., 36-37.

42. Etienne Gilson, agm., 37-38.

cture in Saint John's College in Maryland Annapolis till his death on 18th December 1973.

Strauss who is loyal to Antiquity and Medieval philosophy tradition was closely interested in Aristotle, Plato, Al-Farabi and İbn Meymun philosophies.

Strauss attempted to develop a new political philosophy and politics on the basis of Al-Farabi's el-Medinetü'l-Fazıla (Virtuous City/State) inspired by Medieval thought, by Al-Farabi and Maimonides, the famous Greek philosopher under Al-Farabi's influence. He not only did this but also selected to develop a thought alternative to the modern thought through esoteric explanations based on Talmud's comments.

Strauss who attracted attention with his new approaches on political regimes and tyranny criticized modern liberalism for giving too much space for individual freedoms and defended classical Platonist state idea.

The interesting thing is that Strauss who could speak Arabic as well became a contemporary Al-Farabi commentator making comments by authoring annotation on a summary that Al-Farabi wrote on Plato's work named Laws after a period of longer than one thousand year.

Leo Strauss who stated that we have to develop another philosophical approach other than Western thought states in the introduction section of the work named "La Persécution et l'Art d'Ecrire" that the information that could be submitted by first sociologists of Sociology of Knowledge to us at first hand usually had to be limited to the information they have in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. He said "Whereas we are required to turn our face to other directions or horizons in order to comprehend compulsion of philosophical sociology" and added as follows: "As a matter of fact the author of these words (Strauss), oriented to Medieval Jewish and Islamic philosophy and became acquainted to phenomena requiring philosophical sociology."<sup>43</sup>



1647th edition of book of Selenographia showing İbnü'l-Heysem and Galileo together

According to him, the interesting contrast between current level of comprehension of Christian Scholasticism and the level of comprehension of Medieval Jewish and Islamic philosophy arises from the following in the last analysis: The best analysts of Christian Scholasticism

43. Leo Strauss, *La Persécution et l'Art d'Ecrire*, 32 (Fransızcaya çeviren, Arnaldo Momigliano) Paris-2003.

believed that their own position was correctly correct in philosophical terms. Whereas the best analysts of Medieval Jewish and Islamic philosophy paid effort to attribute value beyond historical association for their beliefs.<sup>44</sup>

Leo Strauss who says “In order to realize the radical difference between Medieval Christian Scholasticism and Medieval Jewish and Islamic philosophy, it will be proper to start with the difference encountered in literate texts” states that the part of this difference particularly related to practical and political philosophy and adds the following: “The place occupied by political philosophy of Aristotle and Cicero and Rome Law in Christian Scholasticism was replaced by Plato’s book of *The State* and *The Laws* in Islamic and Christian philosophy. While Plato’s book of *The State* and *The Laws* reached to the West only in the fifteenth century; those books were translated to Arabic in 9th century. The two great Islam philosophers wrote annotations to them. Al-Farabi wrote annotations to Plato’s *Laws* and Averroes de wrote annotations to *State* dialogue.

İbn Meymun, the greatest philosopher of Medieval Jewish philosophy revealed that Al-Farabi whom he defined as the greatest philosopher trained by Islamic world and the second greatest authority following Aristotle was influenced by Plato’s *State* and philosophy was wholly at the level of political philosophy.

According to what Cristopher Colmo states, Strauss sustained Al-Farabi surveys for twenty years from 1935 to 1957 mostly because he was the vanguard of İbn Meymun and developed rationalism different from modern rationalism.<sup>45</sup>

Al-Farabi’s work particularly recommended by İbn Meymun (*es-Siyâsetü’l-Medeniyye*) was composed of two sections. The first section was on the God and universe and the second section was on city and state. The author named his work as political ruling (*es-Siyâsetü’l-Me-*

*deniyye*). The name of a similar work of the same author was named *The ideas of the people of the virtuous city* (*Arau Ehli’l-Medineti’l-Fadıla*). In a manuscript which I saw personally it was stated to be a political work. It is very meaningful that Al-Farabi was not as famous as Avicenna and Averroes among Christian Scholastics.”<sup>46</sup>

According to Strauss, one should take into consideration the radical differences among Islam, Judaism and Christianity in order to comprehend those outstanding differences better. Apocalypse that Muslims and Jews understand is a law (*Torah/Shariah*) rather than a belief. depending on this, this is not a dogma but a social order in the end for Muslim and Jewish philosophers when they think on the apocalypse. Yes, correct is something which does not only regulate actions but also thoughts and convictions and which encumbrances everything. Consequently, the philosophers who are loyal to their *Laws/Shariah* could interpret their apocalypse as a perfect political order as the perceived so.”<sup>47</sup>

Strauss who compared prophets to philosophers after that said they could imagine the shariah maker prophet establishing the perfect order as a philosopher of the first order in all terms rather than an ordinary completely simple personality of the first order. Their law maker prophet could be accepted as the philosopher king or someone who has the top perfection of a philosopher king. In this case the philosopher king or the communities ruled by the philosopher king were the subject of Platonist politics rather than Aristotelian politics.<sup>48</sup>

Strauss particularly emphasizes Al-Farabi’s style and approach in the summary of Plato’s work named *The Laws*. According to him, in the brief summary of Al-Farabi related to Plato’s work named *The Laws*, he attempts to explain how this book should be read, which method should be used to read and analyze Plato’s texts consequently using stories and metaphors.

44. Leo Strauss, age., 33.

45. Cristopher Colmo, *Theory and Practice: Al-Farabi’s Plato*, Revisted (American Political Science Review, 86, 4), 966.

46. Leo Strauss, age., 34.

47. Leo Strauss, age., 35.

48. Leo Strauss, age., 36.



*A View from Bukhara Fortress*

Al-Farabi states in this work that the persons he names as “judgment owner” who has gained the habit of discriminating and gaining useful things gained this characteristic by making observation and assessing their observations properly; and this creates correct universal judgments on the basis of many observations relate to special situations. According to him, “creating universal judgments on the basis of many special observations is native in humans. For example if any person tells the truth once, twice or very frequently, it is judged that he is a true person or a person who always tells the truth. Nevertheless this sort of judgment is not always correct though natural. Judgment owners observe the tendency to make generalizations which are not fully definite and assess this judgment properly. And on the basis of this assessment, they take action looking through what is useful. They sometimes act in an existing manner and lead to people to make a false judgment that the people will always act in this manner.”<sup>49</sup>

According to Strauss, Al-Farabi clarifies this idea with a story in order to make it understood better. Accordingly, there was an ascetic person who wanted to make ascetism, devotion and modesty a habit in the past and restricted the desires of the soul for this purpose, preferred something giving pain to something giving pleasure intentionally. And there was a ruthless ruler where he lived. This ruler had hostile feelings for him. The ascetic person who realized this thought that the ruler would give harm to him and wanted to leave the place he lived and escape and started to make escaping plans. Meanwhile the ruler ordered for catching the ascetic person and controlled all gates of the city in order to prevent him to escape. The ascetic person found suitable garments to leave the city and took a bell in his hand pretending to be drunk late at night and took his way toward one of the gates of the city. When the guard asked “who are you, what do you want”, he pretended to be drunk and said “I’m the person who you want”. The guard

49. Leo Strauss, How Farabi Read Plato's Laus (Türkçe'ye çeviren,

Burhanettin Tatar, Siyasi Hermönötik), 137, Samsun-2000.

thought that the man ridiculed him and did not prevent him to go. Thus the ascetic person both avoided to lie and escaped easily.

In this example, Al-Farabi states that the ascetic person who owns judgment but special judgment acted with the stipulation of what is useful for him and wanted both to protect himself and to achieve his purpose. In order to protect himself and be able to escape he was required not to be recognized. He needed to exhibit a different behavior for this purpose. Indeed the behavior expected from him is not escaping by pretending to be drunk. But he had an attitude which he was not accustomed in order to secure himself and escape and be freed. Nevertheless he did not want to lie clearly but actually told a lie tricking the guard. Telling this story Al-Farabi wanted to indicate that a reality which is very dangerous for some people can be expressed safely using a suitable method and one may not be mistaken clearly by doing this.

Indeed this event was given as an example for an assessment about Plato's writing style. Because Plato thinks all information can be explained using an ambiguous style that could have different meanings rather than explaining the same to all with the fear that they lose their quality or abuse the same. Plato uses a style full of implication, allusion, metaphors and figures in his works rather than a clear and plain style.

For this reason Al-Farabi wanted to reveal and explain certain ideas of Plato who wanted to express indirectly by attempting to annotate his work named Laws.

Plato indicates philosophy as the mandatory and sufficient condition of condition. And Al-Farabi's Summary defends that happiness will mostly realize by obeying divine rules or the Gods. While Plato's philosophy is silent about the God, gods, afterlife, shariah and divine rules; Farabi's Summary frequently mentions about these issues. Briefly, the relation between Plato's philosophy and the Summary reflects the relation between philosophy and theological law as the relation between worlds which are completely different from one another.

To summarize, there is great difference between the things that Al-Farabi tells clearly and the things that Plato tells clearly. It is impossible to tell the place where the report which Al-Farabi often accepts to be correct with respect to Plato's ideas ends and where his own explanations start. It cannot often be said that Al-Farabi certifies Plato's ideas. We begin to understand this character of the Summary when we think an irritating example of complete differentiation of Al-Farabi's expression from his own example.

Laws is not a book the content of which the reader can understand without being exposed to change or use to be inspired with good-hearted feelings. Laws contain a doctrine which claims to be correct, namely valid all the time. Each serious reader of the Laws has to face with this claim. In the Middle Ages, each Muslim reader faced with it. Muslim reader may have done this in minimum three ways: He may claim that Plato was completely deprived of the guide provided by apocalypse and may reject his claim. If the purpose is not completely rejecting Islam, Plato's standards may be used for judging or criticizing special Islamic institutions. He may claim that he can live in conformity with Islam and only the correct standards determined by Plato and indicate mental validity of Islam in terms of both content and source on this ground.

According to Strauss, Al-Farabi well knew that there were significant differences between Greek law and Islamic law. As a matter of fact he says the following toward the end of the second section: "Art of singing was very significant for the Greek. Law makers paid full significance to it. This art is very useful indeed..." And in the second section which immediately follows it, he states that the same institution was used with a poem of rules and rejected with another poem of rules and explains the conditions that this difference cannot be rejected. And at the end of the sixth section, he says it has always been mandatory to protect the musicians but this protection was better "in those times".



*Necmeddin Kübra Social Context, Köhne Ürgenç, Turkmenistan*

According to Strauss, Al-Farabi knew that there was no difference between Greek law and Islamic law in other situations which are not less significant. For instance, as he notes toward the end of the last section, Plato discussed the problem of whether any man who knows nothing but laws and does nothing but laws require is virtuous or not and says “there are still serious disputes between human beings” in this regard.

As a result, Strauss says: “Here we do not need to say anything about the Summary. We admire the easiness revealed by Al- Farabi about Platonist speeches.”

### **3. Richard Walzer**

Richard Walzer who was born on 14th July 1900 in Berlin was a member of a Jewish family. After receiving his bachelor's degree and doctorate in Friedrich Wilhelms University he instructed there on philosophy. Walzer who thought that the fields of language, history and

thought cannot be discussed independently from one another realized significance of Arabic sources in philosophy. After he met Paul E. Kraus, he attempted to reveal the connections between classical philosophy and Islamic thought. At the same time he married to Sophie, cousin of Ernst Cassirer, one of the leading philosophers of German idealist school and became his relative.

When Nazi oppression on the Jewish increased, he migrated to Rome following Helmut Ritter's recommendations in 1933 together with his family and started to instruct on Greek philosophy in Rome University. Meanwhile he developed his knowledge of Arabic and worked on booklets of el-Kindî together with Guidi.

When fascism grew stronger in Italy he had to feel the compulsion of leaving Rome and settling in England in 1938. Walzer who lectured in Oxford Oriel College with the support of Sir David Ross, expert of Aristotle philosophy deepened his researches on Islamic thought here

making use of Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb's comprehensive knowledge.

Walzer who returned to his country following the Second World War was granted the title of honorary professor from Hamburg University. He was elected as a member of British Academy in 1956. He resigned from Oriel College in 1962 and continued with his academic studies in St. Catherine College until he was retired in 1970. He attempted to establish correlations between Greek philosophy and Islamic philosophy on one hand, he attempted to establish correlations between Islamic philosophy and Medieval Christian philosophy on the other hand. Walzer died on 16th April 1975 in Oxford.

He provides information about translation movement, birth of Islamic philosophy and Kindî and Al-Fârâbî in his work titled *Revival of Islamic Philosophy* (*L'éveil de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1971).

In addition to critical publication of certain works of Kindî, he published Al-Farabi's work titled *Plato's philosophy and sections* (*Felsefetu Eflâtûn ve Eczâühâ*), *Al Farabius: De Platonis Philosophia* (London 1943) together with Franz Rosenthal. On the other hand he published Arabic translation of Galen's works on medicine together with Paul Kraus.

Walzer attempted to restart the tradition of Al-Farabi comment with his work titled *(Al-Farabi on the Perfect State*, Oxford 1985) which is the review and English translation of Al-Farabi's work named *Mebâdî'ü Arâ'i Ehlî'l-Medîneti'l-fâdila*. Walzer who provided significant information about Al-Farabi's philosophy of ethic and politics in the introduction section of the work introduces the text together with writing sources and attempts to explain and comment Al-Farabi's text.

#### 4. Muhsin Mehdi

Muhsin Mehdi was born on 21st June 1926 in Karbala in a family told to belong to Ehl-i Beyt (People of the House). After he graduated from Beirut American University where he studied Business Administration he

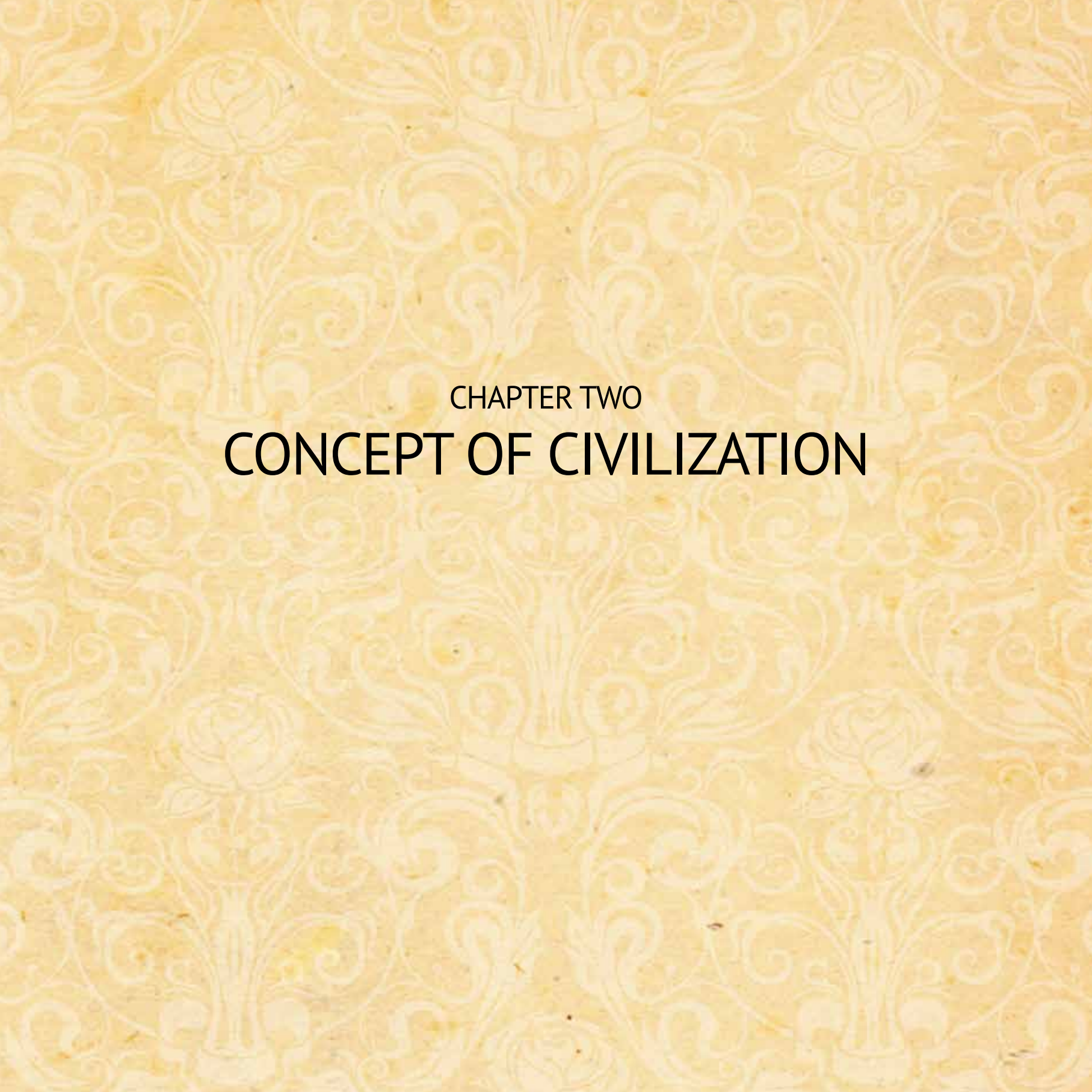
was interested in philosophy. He returned to Baghdad in 1947 and lectured on economics in Baghdad University for one year. He went to Chicago in 1948 and started to study on Arabic and Islamic philosophy. He became close friends with Arnold Bergstrasser, Yves Simon, Nabia Abbott, Seth Benardete and Allan Bloom who were in Leo Strauss' team.

He was granted Ph. D. (Doctor of Philosophy) title with his thesis titled *İbn Khaldun and Philosophy of History* in 1954. Mehdi who continued his academic studies in various universities as guest scholar returned to his country in 1957 and lectured in Baghdad University, faculties of Law, Science and Arts. He was transferred to Harvard University in 1969 and here he was commissioned as Chairman of Center of Middle East Studies and Near East Languages and Civilizations Chair till 1996.

Mehdi who conducted researches in various academic institutions of the world in this period mostly concentrated on Medieval Islamic, Jewish and Christian thought and particularly on philosophy of politics and Al-Farabian thought. He performed edition critics of many of Al-Farabi's works and conducted significant studies particularly on the subjects of virtuous city (*el-Medinetü'l-Fadila*) Civilized politics (*es-Siyâsetü'l-Medenîyye*). He reassessed Al-Farabi's state, politics and civilization thought particularly with his work named *Al-Fârâbî and the Foundation of Islamic Political Philosophy* which he published in 2001.<sup>50</sup>

Mehdi who was criticized by certain researchers due to his attempt to explain Islamic thought and particularly Al-Farabian philosophy with esoteric comments under the influence of Leo Strauss attempted to determine the place of Al-Farabi in Islamic, Christian and Jewish thought using modern methods rather than being under direct influence of him and particularly wanted to show significance of Al-Farabi's philosophy of politics and civilization in terms of present time.

50. Charles Butterwoth, *In Memoriam* (Arabic Sciences and Philosophy, Vol. 18, (2008) 139-142.



CHAPTER TWO

# CONCEPT OF CIVILIZATION



*Buda Statues in Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan*

# I. CONCEPT OF CIVILIZATION

In order to be able to understand Al-Farabi's thought of civilization better, it is useful to review the meaning and historical course of this term.

As it is known, term of civilization refers briefly to a sum of social, cultural, political, intellectual, institutional, technical and economical accumulations that are due to city, urbanity, and urban life, levels and opportunities. The origin of the word is associated with Cite, Civis which means city, state and society in Latin. The word of Civil and Civilization were derived from this origin. And the word of medeni (civilization) used in Turkish was derived from the word of Medine meaning city and the term of Medinetü'n-Nebi which means the city of Prophet and the word of medeni was used in Islam and Arabian world at the beginning but then the term of Hadara under the influence of İbn Khaldun.

## 1. Concept of Civilization in Western thought

The term civilization, civilization in French, derives from either civitas in Latin, meaning "city" and civis, meaning resident of a city; or from civilis, meaning related to the resident of a city. As far as we know, the word "civilization" has first been used in French by Voltaire (1694-1778) and Mirabeau (1749-1791)<sup>1</sup>. It has later come into use in English around 1770.<sup>2</sup>

There are five terms about civilization in use in English:

1. City, meaning town.
2. Citizen, meaning resident in a town.

---

1. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, p. 32 (Uygurluk Süreci in Turkish, translator, Ender Ateşman, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2000.)

2. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 41.

3. Civility, meaning grace, courtesy, urbanity and amicable manners.
4. Civilization, meaning development, education, enlightenment, edification, intellectualism, geniality, culture, customs and traditions.
5. Civilize, meaning to enlighten, to intellectualize, to educate, to edify and to gentrify.<sup>3</sup>

According to Clough, if a group of people produce aesthetic and intellectual works of high standards and can provide physical and social security to its members, then it can be qualified as civilized.<sup>4</sup>

Tylor, on the other hand, describes civilization as the advanced level of culture in which arts, sciences, and political life are very well developed.<sup>5</sup>

Gordon Childe presents social stratification, specialization, cities, large populations, development of mathematics and literature as the key features of civilization.<sup>6</sup>

Just because the term civilization came to use in Western literature in 18th century does not mean that its content was shaped in this century. Civilization is not only a phenomenon that has surfaced with the first human but also its content has been discussed in human societies since very ancient times, albeit using different phrases and expressions. However, the context and concept of the word civilization is different in today's sense.

For 200 years, until the mid-20th century, the word civilization was considered under a hegemonic, imperialist, colonialist and Eurocentric approach as either a developed or an advanced state of societies or a stage of it, or a mode of development. Being civilized is described as getting rid of savagery, being educated on life sciences, being enlightened, progressing, refining and being domestic, and civilizing of non-Western societies, who are considered Barbarians, was considered a birth right of Europe. Indeed, the

3. Urdang, *The Oxford Thesaurus*, p. 62.

4. Clough, *The Rise and Fall of Civilization*, p. 3.

5. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, p. 1.

6. Childe, *What Happened in History*, p. 117. (In Turkish, Turkish translation, Aladdin Şenelve Mete Tuncay, Odak Yayınları, İstanbul 1974)

French who invaded Algeria in 1839, claimed they brought civilization and Victor Hugo, the author of *Les Misérables*, claimed that forced civilization of uncivilized societies by the French was a necessity of civilization.<sup>7</sup>

Western powers that ruled the world in 18th and 19th centuries, tried to impose their claim that Western civilization was the pinnacle of human progress to the whole world. In this regard, they presented the term civilization as the accomplishments of Europe in fields of architecture, painting, literature, sculpture, music, philosophy, science, aesthetics and intellect and as the effects of these on the social and physical milieu.

Therefore, Chandler thinks that the term civilization has lost its former prestige and reports that accepting the existence of many civilizations results in two approaches regarding the term civilization:

The first approach is that European civilization is no longer the “ideal” but is an ideal among many other ideals, and that it became a civilization coexisting with other civilizations.

The second approach is that perception of the civilization phenomenon as the pinnacle of human progress gave way to an approach of perceiving it as a cultural identity that distinguishes one society from another and that indicates methods of organizing that society. In other words, civilization gained two different meanings, one being the novel method of organizing societies within a socio-economic system, and the other being a method of thinking about reality and a way of knowing.<sup>8</sup>

Hence, civilization was understood at two levels: In singular form, it described the universal milieu of human conditions and the course of transformation witnessed by mankind throughout history; and in plural form it described the identities of various societies or cultures.<sup>9</sup>

7. Danielle Jean, *Sommes-Nous les Grecs du Monde?* (La Guerre des Dieux), 5, Le Nouvel Observateur (Hors Série) Janvier, 2002.

8. Chandler, *Beyond Civilization: The World's Four Great Streams of Civilization: Their Achievements, Their Differences, and Their Future*, p. 1.

9. Abdelmalik, *The Civilizational Orientation in the Making of the new Word*,

While French and English authors developed a term of civilization with meanings of an advanced stage of development and a standard to be followed by other societies, German thinkers made a distinction of “civilization” and “culture”. In fact, German authors, thinkers, philosophers and historians emphasized the uniqueness of German culture. According to them, every nation had their own civilization and culture. Therefore, civilization became plural due to their contribution.<sup>10</sup>

It is apparent that modernist thinkers, who deem Europe equivalent to civilization and consider values of Europe as a measure of civilization, have persistently used the term civilization in singular form.<sup>11</sup> However, western intellectuals who noticed such prejudice as the research on cultural anthropology of peoples and civilizations outside Europe progressed, gave up on their persistence of using the term civilization in singular form. Hence, the singular use of civilization gave way to plural use as civilizations.

With his work titled *The Civilizing Process*, Norbert Elias is one of the thinkers who consider the notion of civilization within western tradition of science. According to Elias, “civilization” encompasses various phenomenon, types of manners, progress of scientific knowledge, religious thought and tradition. It states the type of dwelling, the way men and women live together, form of legal punishment and the means of food production.<sup>12</sup>

According to Elias, notion of culture essentially describes intellectual, artistic or religious phenomena in German; and within its English and French use the term civilization describes a process or at least the outcome of a process, and something which is in constant motion and progress. It purports works of art, books, and religious or philosophical systems that depict the ingenuity of a people.<sup>13</sup>

5/1-2.

10. Weininger, *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, p. 616.

11. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 41.

12. Elias, *The Civilizing Process* 3.

13. Elias, *Age*, pp. 4-5.



*Bezeklik Bin Buda Caves, Turfan, North Turkistan*

In concert with Elias' notion of civilization, Huntington considers civilization as a higher cultural being. Huntington perceives civilization as the highest cultural configuration of people and the broadest level of cultural identity that distinguishes humans from other living species.<sup>14</sup>

According to Huntington, nation states are out of date. There is a need for a broader concept to ease the work of policymakers. Yet, there is an agreement among civilization researchers on the existence of fundamental proposals on the nature, identity and dynamics of civilizations. Therefore, most researchers agree that civilizations are the most extensive cultural beings. Hence, no portion of civilization can be fully understood without referring to the encompassing quality of civilization. Civilizations are transient, but they are the most persis-

tent of human unions, they live long, they develop and adapt. They are in motion; they rise and fall; they unite and divide; and they also perish.

Huntington, who apparently aims to justify the hegemonic perceptions by changing the world agenda with his thesis "The Clash of Civilizations", combines civilization with religion, as the main defining characteristic of civilizations: "The most important of the objective factors that describe civilizations is usually religion... In history of mankind, civilizations of note have been virtually identified with the major religions of the world to a great extent."<sup>15</sup>

German philosopher of history, Oswald Spengler, claims that civilization is the decline of advanced cultures. Spengler names the social and intellectual structure of

14. Huntington, *Age*, p. 43.

15. Huntington, *Age*, pp. 43-44.

a great nation or empire at its golden age as “culture”. He defined the deep-seated, static period after the golden age as “civilization”.

Famous English civilization historian Arnold J. Toynbee, on the other hand, considers the world history as a series of sequential cultural entities. He, however, mentions each of these entities throughout history as “civilization”. He bases the distinction between civilizations and primitive societies on a mostly quantitative basis. According to him, primitive societies “are relatively short lived, and are confined to a relatively smaller geography and consist on relatively smaller number of people.”<sup>16</sup>

Contemporary civilization historian Edward Mc. Nell Burns, who attempts to make a Eurocentric definition of culture and civilization, reports that every culture has distinctive qualities and that it is possible to say that some cultures are more advanced than other, and states: “We can say that there exists a civilization superior to another civilization. Therefore we can state that a culture deserves the word civilization when it reaches a level of progress where writing is in common use, where there is significant progress on arts and sciences, and where it has the capacity to deal with at least some of the order, security and activity problems of political, social and economic institutions in a complex society.”<sup>17</sup>

The origin of the word is associated with Cite, Civis which means city, state and society in Latin. The word of Civil and Civilization were derived from this origin. And the word of medeni (civilization) used in Turkish was derived from the word of Medine meaning city and the term of Medinetü'n-Nebi which means the city of Prophet and the word of medeni was used in Islam and Arabian world at the beginning but then the term of Hadara under the influence of Ibn Khaldun.

Edgar Morin, contemporary French philosopher who assesses culture as “the integrity of values and beliefs

of a special community” and civilization as “knowledge, science and techniques” that can be transferred from one community to another says: “Great challenges that show themselves in our century arose from development of our civilization and threatens the foundations of this civilizations. Any civilization completely defined with its material, cognitive and scientific components have insufficiency which is difficult to understand.

We well know that comfort, highness of living level, extension of lifetime, social protectionism, development of hygiene conditions, freeness and entertainments of private life, bathrooms, refrigerators, telephones, televisions, high speed trains, aircrafts are the success of our civilization. Nevertheless these are at the same time things that irritate those who are deprived of them.

In our most modern cities, we see marginalized persons, corrupt suburbs, shanty houses, ghettos, insecure regions and unemployed persons. However these are thought to have been marginalized temporarily; it is believed that our civilization will internalize them gradually and it is not thought that they are intensely exposed to the results of this civilization. Solutions have become problems in the so called developed world and will become a problem in other regions of the world and shall aggravate the problems at global scale.”<sup>18</sup>

Later he continues as follows: “In Western civilization, elevation of living level became gangrene through diminishing of life quality. Discomfort lives within comfort as a parasite. So, the thing that seems to provide general and irrevocable advance of civilization became a problem in the same context. According to Freud, each civilization grows up its reasons for disappearing in it due to disease of civilization. The symptoms of disease peculiar to our civilization revealed a new disease of civilization and showed itself. Evils of our civilization are really the evils that reveal the opposite of individualization, monetarization, development, technicization, comfort.

16. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (ed D. C. Somerwell), I, p. 35.

17. Edward Mc. Nell Burns, *Western Civilizations, their history and their culture*, I, pp. 21-22, Newyork-1968.

18. Edgar Morin-Sami Nair, *Une Politique de Civilisation*, 123.



*Bam City Fortress, Iran*

Maurice Crouzet emphasizes how definition of term of civilization made by nineteenth century rationalist philosophers is generalized and adapted to the history as a whole in the foreword to the great work of 7 volumes titled “*Historie Générale des Civilisations*” which he edited and states that: “The term civilization could rank amongst scientific terminology at a very late period, only in 18th century. Moreover, not only what it meant exactly was not defined perfectly, but also its content was not rich enough for a long time.

This new term, which is an antonym for Barbarism, has been phrased by the Rationalist philosophers, popular authors of the 18th century and their successors, as a very important system and collection of devices that could bring peace, order, happiness, enlightenment and intellectual and literary progress of mankind. In that re-

gard, it is stated that the term civilization depicts a state which is ideal, real, rational, causal, and teleological at the same time.”<sup>19</sup>

Maurice Crouzet states that 19th century focused on this European view and ingrained it to minds and caused to be recognized by the world, and says “Developments in science and technology have provided Europeans with such financial energy that in admiration, they deemed their own civilization superior and nobler than all previous civilizations. Therefore, 19th century began considering the European civilization as the most outstanding civilization. Moreover, gradually it believed that it possessed the right to impose this view on the whole world. Eventually, it embraced this opinion, and set off to take steps in applying it.

19. Maurice de Crouzet, *Histoire Generale des Civilisations*, Paris-1966, (Arabictans, Tarihü'l-Hadarati'l-Amm, Beyrut-2006), p. 17.

Europe's self-confidence, however, did not make it to this century. Pessimist statements repeated by authors such as "civilization crisis", "civilization at peril", "requirement of reevaluation of civilization" indicate the imminent end of this perception."<sup>20</sup>

Crozet, who states that the idea that European civilization is the only civilization is no longer valid, states that: "Today, we must set aside the perception of a single and unique civilization that claims to be unmistakably superior, and accept the existence of various civilizations. Prominent scientist, historians and sociologists now accept the certitude of it, and embrace the view opinion that every human society has a civilization and order specific to it, and that even the primitive, savage societies have a civilization.

By the same token, it is an approach in which the need to disapprove the strict and narrow opinion which claims that civilization had one unique history is accepted with certitude."<sup>21</sup>

Maurice Crouzet, who mentions the development of condescending civilization perception in France, goes on like this: "We see that many civilizations existed in the past and long history of mankind. Each one of these had a political thought and system, financial and technological level of life, producing power; various religious opinion and capability to form a network of social relations with its artistic reflections. This discipline, which discusses these systems under the title of civilization history, should never embrace the narrow and strict theories put forth under the name of science."<sup>22</sup>

In its broadest meaning, civilization describes a complex structure consisting of the habits and opinions acquired in time by people living in a society. It is the sum of mankind's experience, and the essence of its gains and accomplishments in every field.

It seems that civilization in the broadest sense expresses a collective integrity of every must-do put forth by man, science, technic, art, aesthetic beauties, man's ways of regarding and relating to itself and others, his values, his ideas etc.

Factors such as race, religion, language, climate, nutrition and geography play a role in the formation of civilizations.

Since civilization is a universal phenomenon that developed alongside mankind; it is a common structure made up of the contribution of all societies, cultures and religion, it is a synthesis, a composite, we can compare civilizations to a river in constant flow, and the universal accumulation of civilization, which is the joint work of mankind, to the oceans. Streams which flow down the mountains and carry the underground water to rivers are like cultures. Therefore, cultures merge and form civilizations. Civilizations merge and form the common universal heritage of mankind. Every society, every culture can produce civilization. After all, cultures which have not reached the level to form a civilization, cannot form holistic, extensive and permanent structures and survive for a long time.

## 2. Concept of Civilization in Islamic thought

The word civilization, which is thought to be derived from the word "medîne" that is based on "müdûn" and that means "city" in Arabic, is considered to be related with the deyn (dîn) infinitive which also has meanings of "administrating" (es-siyâse) and possessing. The words "Medenî", "Medeniyye" and "Medîni" mean "urban, resident of a city".<sup>23</sup>

Our great linguist Translator Asim Efendi ascribes the following meanings to the word Civilization, which is discussed in Kamus -the most extensive Arabic-Turkish dictionary- under the base Müdûn: "Müdûn describes a state of settling in the meter of Kuûd. (The name) Medina originates here, and it means coming to the city... Al-Zamakhshari ascribes "Belde" to a small town and "Medîne" to a large town."<sup>24</sup>

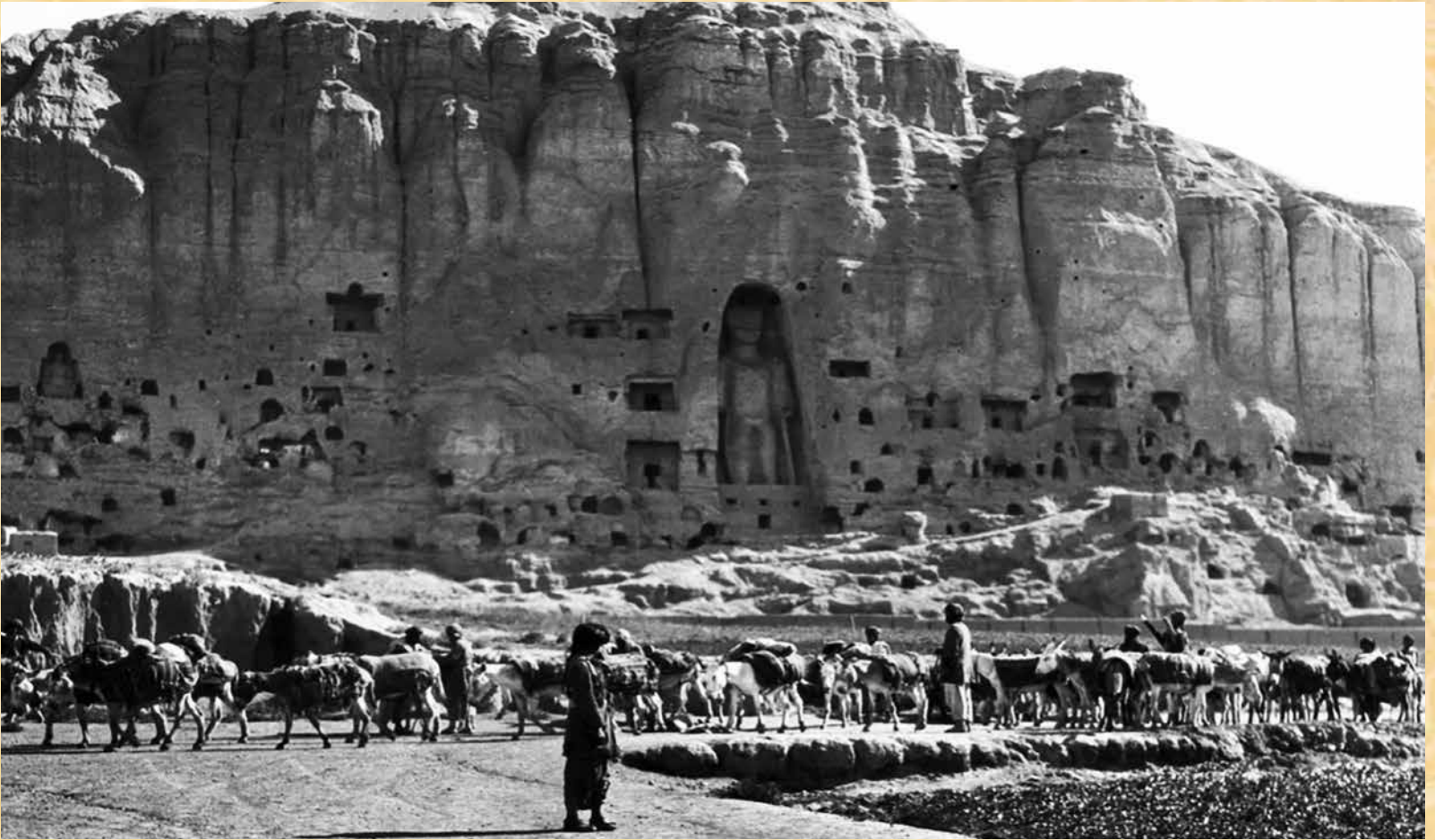
20 . Maurice de Crouzet, Age., I, p. 17.

21. Maurice de Crouzet, Age., I, p. 18.

22 . Maurice de Crouzet, Age., I, p. 18.

23. Lisânü'l-Arab, MDN ve DYN entries.

24 . Mütercim Asım, Kâmûs Translation, IV, p. 760.



*Buda Statue in Bamiyan, Afghanistan*

Asim Efendi reports that 16 towns and cities are called Medina in Arabic, but only those from the city of the Prophet are called “Medeni” (civil), contrary to “Bedevî” (Bedouin), and the others are called “Medînî”.<sup>25</sup>

As a term, the word civilization is closely related to the phrase “Medinetü’n-Nebi”, which means city of the Prophet, and describes settled life (Hazari) in contrast to nomadic life, and urbanity (civilized) in contrast to Bedouin life.

As it is well known, the name of the city Medina was Yesrib in the pre-Islamic era. After the Prophet’s transmigration (hegira) from Mecca to Medina, it was called “Medinetü’n-Nebi”, meaning city of the Prophet. Later,

the words civil and civilization were derived from this. Thus, one could have aimed to emphasize that after his Hejira, the Prophet of Islam not only established a city, but also established a new civilization, and that being from Medina would require being urban and civil.

Subsequently, from this word, the word “Temeddün” has been derived, meaning becoming urban or becoming civil. During the translations which started in 8th century, the word “Polis” meaning “city or city state” in Greek was translated as Medîne; and the word “politeia” meaning “state and administration of the state” was translated as “es-siyâsetü’l-medeniyye”. In that regard, the term civil gained both political and social content. As a matter of fact, drawing inspiration from the expression “political

25 . Mütercim Asim, Kâmûs Translation, IV, p. 760.

creature" (zoon-politikon), which Aristotle used for describing this aspect of man, Islamic thinkers reported that man is a naturally civil being (el-İnsanü medeniyün bi't-tab').

By extension, the classification of sciences titled "İlmü'l-Medenî", "İlmü's-Siyâse" and "İlmü's-Siyâseti'l-Medeniyye", which are named for the first time by al-Farabi and which are about politics, social sciences and administrative sciences, began to appear.

According to al-Farabi and many Muslim scholars to follow, mankind cannot survive alone. Man can achieve competencies particular to his kind, only through a mutual division of labor formed within a social structure. Thus, man cannot establish a city or civilization on his own. In order for him to establish a city or civilization, a social structure that is advanced for its time must be present.

Structures such as family, neighborhood and village cannot provide the man with the competencies that would bring the happiness he yearns. Broader structures, namely nations, ummahs, cities and states, are necessary for this to happen.

As a matter of fact, Islamic world has known, recognized and used the term civilization -as an equivalent of "civitas"- and various derivatives of the term since the 9th century.

The Great Islamic thinker al-Farabi has not only authored there three separate books by the very same name, both also has he written a brief commentary on Plato's dialogue "The Republic". In his work titled "el-Medinetü'l-Fâdila", al-Farabi mentions the virtuous city and from virtuous city, he progresses to virtuous society, and from virtuous society to virtuous state. In his work titled "Fusûlü'l-Medenî", his opinions on state administration are given in short sections. In his work titled "Siyasetü'l-Medeniyye", where he used the word literally, he deals with metaphysical foundations of state administration and of civilization in some sense.

Ibn Haldun, on the other hand, often uses the word civilization in contrast to nomadic life. He describes the word civilization "el-hadâra" which corresponds to the contemporary meaning of the word. Moreover he uses the terms "el-umrân" for civility and "et-temeddün" for urbanity.

While the Arab world initially used the term "medeniyet" to correspond to the term civilization in Western world, after the second quarter of 20th century, they preferred using the term "Hadare", derived from the base "hadârîye" which as used by Ibn Haldun.

While the concept of civilization in Islamic though has been embraced as it is during the rise of the Ottoman Empire, we observe that some major differences in approach appear after 17th century.

For instance, "Taşköprülü-Zâde, who was one of the prominent scholars of the era and who stated that since mankind, as a whole (class, nation, individual) is naturally civilized, by their nature they had to obtain those that benefited them and avoid those harmed them, and in doing so, with power of desire, each took what belonged to someone else, with power of fury he rejected those who opposed him<sup>26</sup>, mentions that conflict or war, or at least secret grudges and hostilities would occur as a result. According to him, this situation conflicts with the principles of civility, gathering, establishing cities and environmental planning. Therefore the divine will considered it necessary to make laws and rules containing all these people. These laws would not be in a way where they applied to some and did not apply to others, and they would not include one society and exclude the other, but they would rather accept all nations and societies at the same level, together, balanced and equally."<sup>27</sup>

The view of Taşköprülü-Zâde seems to be rather close to the contemporary perception of civilization. Following his footsteps, Kınalı-zâde Ali Efendi uses the term "temeddün" (civilizing) instead of "medeniyet" and states

26. *Taşköpri-zâde, Mi'yârü'l-İlm, I, p. 432; Miftâhü's-Saâde, I, p. 386.*

27. *Taşköpri-zâde, Mi'yârü'l-İlm, I, p. 432.*



*A View from Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan*

that this is “Tavâif-i muhtelif ve ümem-i mütebeyyine-nin ictimâ-ı âmme ve teellûf ve intizâmından ibâret”.<sup>28</sup> In other words, he describes civilizing as “the state of order in which the social constructs of different groups and nations reconcile”. With this description, Kınalı-zâde seems to be indicating the Ottoman social model, in which people of different religions and nations lived together.

While the words “medeniyet”, “temeddün” and “mütemeddin” were already in use in Turkish, they were not common. The word of “medeniyet” to correspond to the word civilization of the Western world was used our language in the 19th century for the first time. Indeed, Paris envoy

28 . Kınalı-zâde Ali, Ahlâk-ı Alâî, III, p. 2 (İlm-i tedbîr-i Medîne=Science of Urban Administration), Cairo-1833.

extraordinary, Mustafa Reşîd Efendi, who wrote a letter to Sultan Mahmûd II in 1834 regarding the invasion of Algeria by the French and the revolt of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala (Muhammad Ali of Egypt), who was later called the Great Mustafa Reşîd Paşa, stated in his letter which went as “As I stated in my presentatin I submitted to you previously, it is particularly known by everybody that esteemed Şehinşâhî is young but has the intelligence and wisdom for issues related to ruling.” And emphasizes significance of civilizatsion as a new term and stated that requirements of civilization were desired to be implemented by the Sultan and if they are implemented all Muslims and Arabs would submit to the rule of the state and uprisings would come to an end. “Bir taraftan dahî Medeniyet usûlüne, ya’nî terbiye-i nâs ve icrây-ı nızâmât

husûslarına sa'y ü ikdâm buyurulmakda olduklarından ve bütün millet-i İslâmiyye dahî dînen ve şer'an taraf-ı eş-ref-i cihân-bânî'ye merbût bulunduklarından az vakitte ve kemâl-i sühûlet ile bütün Arabistân'da tenfîz-i ahkâm buyuracakları bedîhîyyâtandır.”<sup>29</sup>

Namely “Since you pay effort to take your way to procedures of civilization which means educating people and protecting the order and the entire Islamic world is subordinated to the honored Sultan who established the world by religion and sharia, it is very clear that judgements thereof will be implemented in entire Arabia country in a short time and easily.”

Therefore, a new and magical concept (civilization), which was previously unaccounted for in the Ottoman literature, namely the word of civilization was included in our political literature, so that the conflict in Arabia, which was considered to be bound to us by religion and sharia, would be resolved with ease, and attitude of Europe, who did not consider us amongst them, but rather considered us an eternal rival, towards us would change.

Our famous poet Şinâsî considered Mustafa Reşîd Paşa, who is the mastermind of the Reform (Tanzîmât) and Improvement (Islâhât) movements, and who once said “We can never sum up to anything without civilization. That civilization can only come to us from Europe”<sup>30</sup> in a great effort to get us to that civilization, superior to Plato and Newton, and represented him as “Medeniyet Resûlû” (prophet of civilization) and likened his era to “Âsr-ı Saadet” (century of bliss):

“Newton cannot measure your intellect and benevolence,  
Plato cannot comprehend your justice and insight,  
Is it proper to call you Prophet of Civilization?  
Essence of your body makes the ignorant bloom.  
You are immediately the pride of civilization of the world,

29. Reşat Kaynar, Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat, p. 44, Ankara-1985.

30. Conveyed by Bayram Kodaman in the seminar “Mustafa Reşîd Paşa'nın Paris Sefirlikleri, Mustafa Reşîd Paşa ve dönemi” p. 73 from Archive du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Turquie, documents et Mémoires, Volume, p. 44.

The children of the time consider your arrival as time of Bliss.”

In the French-Turkish dictionaries written during Reşîd Paşa's years in Paris, this word was ascribed the meanings of “familiarity, reformation of morals; teaching of ways and manners, training, humanity; elegance”.<sup>31</sup>

This term, which gradually gained popularity, was explained by one of our first linguists, Şemseddîn Sâmî, as “Medeniyet, ülm ve fûnûn, sanâyi ve ticâretin semerâtından bi-hakkin istifâde ile hüsn-ü hâlde, refâh, âsâyişte yaşayış, hazariyyet terakkîsidir.”<sup>32</sup> in other words as living in a pleasant state of welfare and order upon fully utilizing the science, sciences, engineering, technology and commercial goods.

Yusuf Akçura, an advocate of Turkism ideology, describes the term civilization with its broadest meaning as “way of life” in his work titled “Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset”. According to him “medeniyet” (civilization) means “way of life”. However, the notion of “life” must be considered in a most liberal and far-reaching meaning. All manifestation of life, all physical and non-physical happenings must be included in that notion. Thus, civilization includes all aspects of life from ways of study and investigation to style of fashion.<sup>33</sup>

The author of one of the most extensive dictionaries of philosophy penned in the Republic era, Mustafa Nâ-mık Çankı, explains the term as: “Civilization, being of transitive quality, is the sum of social happenings which specialize in religious, ethical, aesthetic, technical or scientific aspects, and which are shared by all individuals of a wide community or of numerous interconnected communities. A mention of “civil nations” is also made, just like the mentions of “field of civilization”, “strata of civilization” and “languages of civilization”. What are meant by this are - in addition to particular or collective

31. Tuncer Baykara, Seminar on “Mustafa Reşîd Paşa'nın medeniyet anlayışı, Mustafa Reşîd Paşa ve dönemi”, pp. 49-50, Ankara-1987.

32. Kâmûs-ı Türkî, Medeniyet entry.

33. Yusuf Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyâset, p. 3, İstanbul-1928.



*Emin Hoca Minaret, Turfan, North Turkistan*

people- the superiority of science and technic, and the intellectual contrast of its social devices to those of nomadic tribes. Moreover, local civilizations, in which more or less in related individuals that discover economical, intellectual and moral talents, are mentioned.”<sup>34</sup>

It must be noted that Çankı grounds this on the progressive (terakki-perver) which was the predominant ideology of the time, positivist perception of civilization.

### **3. Civilization-Culture Relationship**

There are various approaches on the relationship between civilization and culture. The word “kültür” came into Turkish from the word “culture” which meant crop and agriculture in French. Figuratively, it means the plantation of the soul and idea, and its education, schooling and correction.

It is true that culture, which is believed to have around 300 descriptions, bears different meanings depending on the context.

According to American anthropologists, culture is a way of life in which man can express himself and others can relate to him. Culture contains all reflections of social life such as literature, art, religion, mythology, national ethics, manners, and ways of dressing, grooming, cooking and eating.

Germans prefer using the term culture “kultur” instead of the term civilization. German thinkers, describe culture as a collection of special information of uncertain quality; whereas, they assess civilization as the outcome of objective science and technics.

According to them, civilization can be numerically measured and can grow and multiply in time. Therefore,

<sup>34</sup> . Mustafa Namık Çankı, Büyük Felsefe Lügati, I, p. 375.

religion, philosophy and arts are not in the scope of civilization but in the scope of cultures.

According to Ziya Gökalp, civilization is the sum of all financial, religious, legal and ethical ideas. Culture on the other hand, which he depicts as “Hars” (kultur) is the sum of all religious, ethical and aesthetic emotions. The special form a civilization takes within a certain nation is called “kultur” or “hars” in his words. Civilization is international whereas cultures are national. Civilization can pass on from nation to nation but culture cannot. Civilization can be altered but culture cannot. The principles of civilization spread through intellect whereas culture spreads through inspiration and intuition.

According to contemporary civilization history author Edward Mc. Nell Burns: “The stages of progress of mankind so far is called “culture”. This word is commonly used for describing societies or periods, which had not yet been introduced to writing and whose levels of accomplishment are rather primitive. However, this term has other meanings. It is sometimes used about accomplishments in intellectual or artistic fields, for literature, music, philosophy and for science. It is also used by some historians to describe the complex ideology, accomplishments, traditions and features of a nation or empire in a certain era.

Every community has its own culture but not necessarily civilization. Civilization is a feature peculiar to advanced communities, and is not present in primitive communities. Indeed, one can speak of Indian or Inuit culture, but not of their civilization. Culture is present in every society, civilization on the other hand, is present in certain societies. Civilization is a higher level union of cultures.

#### **4. Rise and Progress of Civilizations:**

Different factors are uttered about the birth and progress of civilizations. Majority of historians are of the opinion that it would be incorrect to relate this to one cause. Both the rise and collapse of civilizations are the result of many complex and interweaved causes. Among

these, especially geographic circumstance and climate conditions stand out. In addition, the roles of economic opportunities, contact with different cultures, oppressions such as war and terror can never be overlooked. On this topic, Burns states that:

“What reasons lie behind the emergence of civilizations? What factors are in place in the progress of civilizations? Why do some civilizations reach higher levels of progress compared to others? The research of the answers to these questions are within the primary field of interest of social scientists. Some think that the geographic factors are the leading factors. Others emphasize other factors such as economic resources, nutrition resources, contact with other civilizations, etc. In general, the existence of various causes are accepted and the one which is believed to be worthy of most emphasis is stressed.

The most interesting theories about the rise of superior culture is possibly the ones under the geography section. Among these, the most prominent one is theory of climate. The theory of climate, which was advocated by important thinkers in the past, including Aristotle and Montesquieu, was best described in the writings of American geographer Ellsworth Huntington. Ellsworth Huntington acknowledged that other factors are important, but insisted that neither in antiquity nor in modernity, no nation could reach the highest level of culture without the influence of climate. Huntington describes the ideal climate conditions as the climate where the average temperature did not often fall below 3 degrees or rise above 17 degrees. However, temperature alone does not bear much importance, humidity is also very important and an average humidity of 75% is required. Moreover, the weather should not be monotonous; hurricanes and storms that cause changes in the weather condition should occur frequently and drastically enough to clear the air and to provide the sudden temperature changes that is necessary to revive and revitalize the mankind.”<sup>35</sup>

---

35 . Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, 3rd edition, pp. 220-223.



*A View from Old Hive*

Later he adds as follows: “Much can be said in favor of the theory of climate. It is certain that some portions of the earth can never cradle a superior civilization under present atmospheric conditions. These regions are either too hot, too humid, too cold or too arid. The region beyond North Arctic Circle, the great deserts, India, Central America and Brazilian forests possess such conditions. Some tough regions of Asia, Africa and America show clear signs that they once went through periods more favorable to mankind. There are ruins of former towns and cities in these regions where water is scarce today. There are ancient paths crossing the deserts which does not give passage now. There are bridges passing over river beds that have been dry for years. The most well-known evidence on the cultural importance of climate change is about Mayan civilization. Mayan civilization has bloomed in Guatemala, Honduras and the Yucatán

peninsula of Mexico between 400 and 1500 AD. Paper production, invention of zero, perfection of the solar calendar and development of a partially phonetic writing system is amongst Mayan accomplishments. Mayans constructed a magnificent city, gained great success in astronomy and reached high standards in sculpture and architecture. Most of this civilization is now in ruins. There is no doubt that many factors including deadly wars between tribes contributed to its premature end, but it is very likely that climate change took part in the end of this civilization. These magnificent city ruins are surrounded by virgin forests where malaria is at large and agriculture activities are very difficult. It is not likely that Mayan civilization, or any other civilization could ripen under such circumstances.”<sup>36</sup>

36. Edward Mc. Nell Burns, *Western Civilizations, their History and Their Culture*, I, p. 22, New York-1968.

Edward Mc. Nell Burns mentions another factor which is just as important as climate:

“There is also the theory of soil exhaustion in conjunction with the theory of climate. A group of modern environmentalists have proposed this theory as both the sole reason for the decline and fall of great empires of the past and as a universal threat towards current and future nations. This theory can at best be a partial theory, because it does not include a theory about the rise and progress of civilizations. Those who propose this theory, however, think that a superior culture can bloom in almost any environment that is not ruined by mankind. According to them, the great deserts and arid regions of the world are not natural, but are artificially created by mankind as a result of erroneous grazing and agriculture techniques. Environmentalists discovered countless evidence on wastefulness and neglect which ruined regions such as Mesopotamia, Palestine, Greece, Italy, China and Mexico. Magnificent civilizations that once bloomed in these countries were doomed to perish for the very simple reason that its soil could no longer provide enough food for its people. As a result, the smart and enterprising citizens immigrated elsewhere and the lower people they left behind gradually faded away in stagnation and inertia. However, the fate which grasped those who were left behind could not be helped. The whole of the nation was responsible for the pillage of the forests, for prospecting ore from the soil, and for grazing their animals until the grass was depleted. One of the tragic consequences of this was the intermittent floods and dry periods, because the forests which regulated the flow of rain and snow were no more. Meanwhile, the superficial soil layer on the hillsides which were planted in succession and in excess, was dragged away by wind and rain into the rivers and subsequently flowed into the sea. Considering that 2.5cm of soil layer takes around 300 years to form, the soil had taken irreparable damage.”<sup>37</sup>

19th century English historian Henry Thomas Buckle stated that the surface topography of the earth was the

main factor behind the progress of nations and divides the prime environments of mankind into two:

Environments that stimulate the imagination  
Environments that develop the mind.

Buckle gives India as an example of the first case, because here, nature possesses “a surprising grandeur”, and it intimidates man and emphasizes his insignificance. Natives torment themselves and invent harsh and gruesome gods. They are pessimistic and fatalistic people, they deny the value of life and they reject the man’s capacity to understand and harness the world.

Buckle gives Greece as an example of the second case, because here, nature is ordinary, and “less menacing to man”. Buckle argues that such environment promotes the progress of mankind, gives rise to optimism and makes man trust the power of his mind. Therefore, Buckle believes it is not surprising that Ancient Greece gave rise to one of the most respected civilizations of the world and some of the greatest critical thinkers of the time.”<sup>38</sup>

Mc. Neil Burns states the scarcity of the phenomenon which would confirm the theory of topography and adds “A historian who would admit that the shoreline or the height of the mountains had undergone change within known history is hard to come by.” According to him, “The number of harbors in Greece is no less compared to what it was in times of Pericles. Mount Olympus has not reached its “surprising grandeur” in recent years either. However, Greece today cannot compare to its forefathers. If effect of topography once aided rational thinking, confidence in success and the happiness due to success once, then how come that effect is no longer helpful today? On the other hand, the facts that a long and sinuous shoreline is of value for the development of commerce, and thereby it provides an important advantage for spread and adoption of knowledge cannot be denied.”<sup>39</sup>

38 . H. T. Buckle, *The History of Civilization in England*, 2nd edition, pp. 93-106.

39 . Edward Mc. Nell Burns, *Age*, I, p. 23

37 . Edward Mc. Nell Burns, *Age*, I, p. 24



*Afak Hoca Mausoleum, Kashgartsy, North Turkistan*

Edward Mc. Nell Burns states that the latest theory proposed on the origin of civilizations is Toynbee's "The Challenge Hypothesis", and adds: "According to this theory, the primary causes behind the emergence of superior cultures are conditions of hardship and difficulty. Such conditions constitute a challenge that motivates people to both overcome these conditions and to have more energy for new accomplishments. This challenge could be in the form of a desert, a virgin forest, a rugged topography or infertile lands. The first of these was a challenge for Jews and Arabs, and the last was a challenge for the natives of the Andes. Such challenge could be in the form of a

defeat in battle or even in the form of captivity. Therefore, Carthaginians were prompted to establish a new empire in Spain after their defeating in the First Punic War; captives from the East who were under Roman captivity, strengthened and spread their religious heritage to such an extent that they broke Rome's resistance.

It is usually correct that the bigger the challenge, the equally great the accomplishment is, however there are certain limitations to this. The challenge should not be at a very serious level, otherwise it deals a crushing, annihilating blow to anyone who attempts to face it."<sup>40</sup>

40 . Edward Mc. Nell Burns, Age., I, p. 26.

According to Burns, majority of historians believe that rise of civilizations can be explained based on complex causes. Not just one cause but a combination of various causes must be considered. Leading among these factors are geographic and economic factors due to a favorable climate, fertile lands, access to proper harbors and abundance of mineral resources. Existence of opportunities for exchange of ideas with people of similar level of accomplishment is also considered an important factor.

Civilizations do not bloom in middle of nowhere. That is probably why there were underdeveloped regions in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa before the arrival of Europeans. These regions were favorable in terms of climate and resources, but they were too far to be affected by the stimulation of progress occurring elsewhere. Historians often emphasize the importance of dense populations in small regions and the importance of new accomplishments and processes in the development of superior cultures. Historians also admit the importance of the influence of religion in the transition from primitive life to civilized life. It is believed that the earliest forms of social order bore religious purposes. Besides providing the earliest legal laws and ethical systems, religion most probably constituted the foundation of philosophy and science as well. Men of religion constitute the earliest educated class in history, and it is believed that writing systems were originally invented by them.”<sup>41</sup>

### **5. Birth Time and Place of Civilization:**

The issue of when and how civilization rose should be discussed alongside the causes of it. Although some argue that the earliest civilization was born in Egypt, and some argue that this happened in Mesopotamia, the latest data support the view that civilization appeared at an earlier time in the Tigris-Euphrates basin, i.e. Mesopotamia. Either way, the birth place of civilization is one end of the Fertile Crescent.

It is known that the first civilizations appeared in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Indian Peninsula. The first examples of civilization blooming in the Nile Delta of Egypt progressed upstream, spread into Africa and created the spectacular monuments in Heliopolis, Giza, Memphis, Thebes and Luxor in the process. Joining with the mind of Hermes of Egypt, the religious tradition represented by prophet Idris established the geometry of the Pyramids.

The deserts watered by the Tigris and Euphrates transformed into fertile lands and provided life sources and boons of civilization to mankind. The dough of civilization, which was kneaded in the Tigris-Euphrates basin, enriched the intellectual world of mankind and the march of civilization, originating from the plains of Mesopotamia, kept its East-West course and embellished our lives.

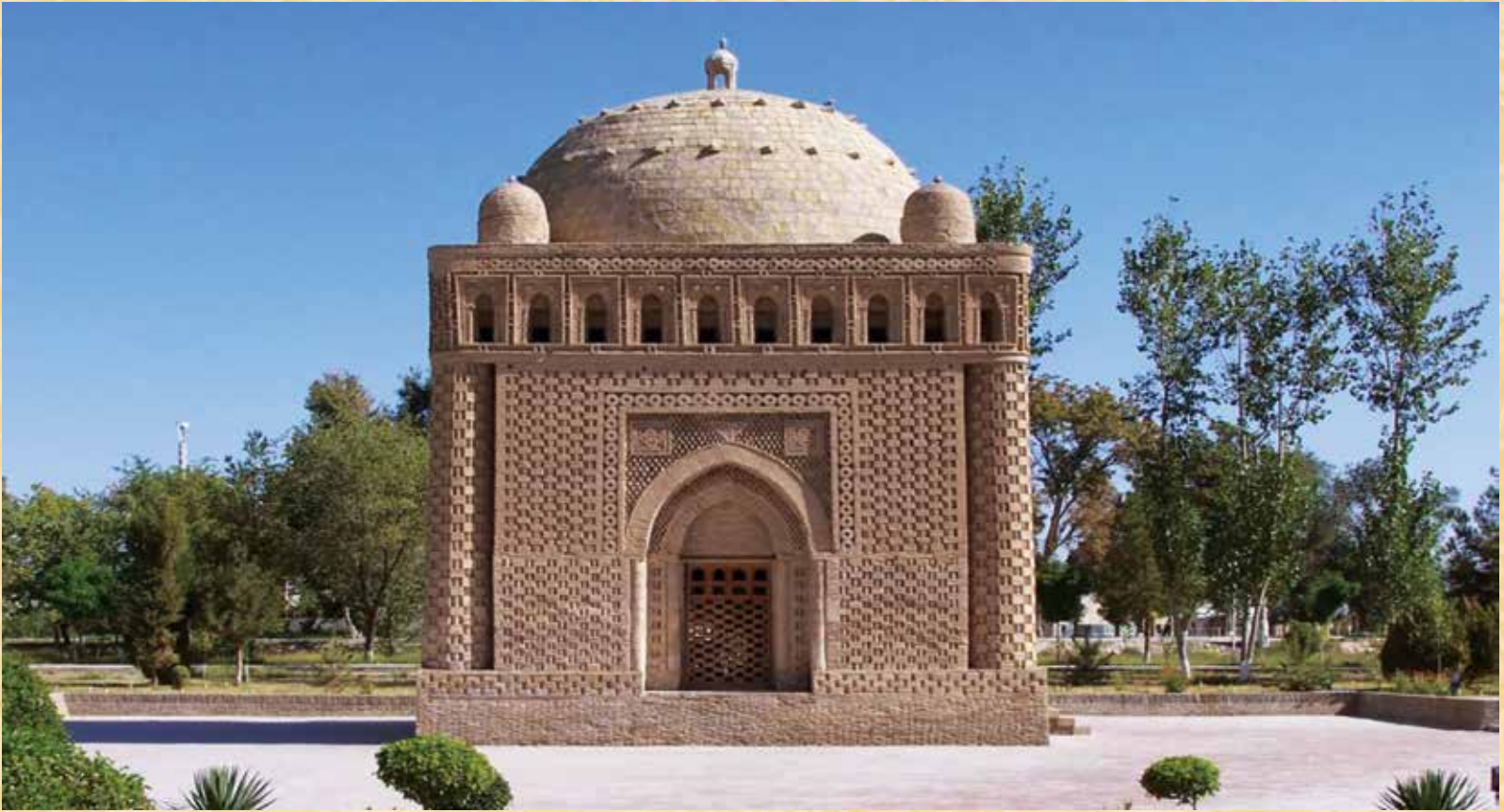
Another view is that the first civilization appeared with the Sumerians. Sumerians first invented writing and then established cities. Cities of Eridu, Ur and Uruk of the Lower Euphrates basin form the milestones of civilization. The glorious Royal Palace of Mari reflect the power of the Assyrians who took over. And Ashurbanipal alters the destiny of Nineveh.

Mesopotamia not only builds civilizations, but also builds nations and states. Sumerians and Akkadians fuse and form a new civilization. The kingdom of Sargon and Hammurabi's code merge and float down the canals which water the plains of Mesopotamia. The Aramean and Assyrian assaults could not annihilate the civilization established by the Semitic people.

Hermes of Babylon, passes the esoteric tradition of Egypt to Mesopotamia. Mathematics, mixed with Numerology; Astronomy, intertwined with Astrology; Chemistry, concealed by Alchemy; and Medicine accelerated by sorcery constitute the scientific pantheon of Babylon. Thus, Babylon is decorated with Ziggurats and its hanging gardens. Not only languages but also seeds of civilization disperse in all directions from the famous tower of Babylon. Eventually the irresistible fate carries out

---

41 . Edward Mc. Nell Burns, Age., I, p. 27.



*Ismail Samani Mausoleum, Bukhara, Uzbekistan*

its verdict and the wave of Persians coming from east demolish this tower and bury it under the sands.

Edward Mc. Nell Burns provides the following explanation about where and how civilizations first appeared, and how geography and climate influenced the rise and fall of civilizations:

“Which of the civilizations of the antiquity is the earliest is still a topic of heated debate. Some researchers think that Egyptian civilization is the earliest whereas a great deal of experts claims a similar argument for the Tigris-Euphrates basin. These two regions are the geographically most preferred zones within the region called “the Fertile Crescent”. The Fertile Crescent is a wide region, which swept from the northwest of Persian bay to shores of Mediterranean, and almost to Egypt,

and which contained fertile lands. The Fertile Crescent forms a semi-circle around the Arabian Desert. Artifacts found here, which are undoubtedly from antiquity, are much more in number compared to those found in other regions of Near East. Besides, at the early date of 3000 BC, when the rest of the world pursued a life in ignorance, the progress in fields of art and science reached an unrivaled pinnacle in both regions. If the foundations of this progress were indeed laid elsewhere, it is odd that they completely disappeared. On the other hand, there is no knowing what archeologists of the future might discover with their shovels.”<sup>42</sup>

Edward Mc. Nell Burns’ predictions proved to be right, and with the discovery of Göbeklitepe, mankind’s inven-

---

42. Edward Mc. Nell Burns, *Age*, I, p. 28.

tory of civilizations decreased from 7th-8th millennia BC to 10-11th millennia BC.

Mc. Nell, who mentions the importance of geographical factors among various reasons behind the emergence of earliest civilizations in the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, says that both regions have the advantage of extremely fertile lands within confined zones and adds that:

“Although the Nile Valley was 1200 km long, it was only 16 km wide at places and its maximum width did not exceed 50 km. The entire Nile delta was smaller than 16000 square meters, which was more or less the size of State of Maryland of the United States. Both sides of the very deep, moat-like canyon dug by the river over centuries, are surrounded by rocky slopes that ranged between 30-40 meters to 300 meters in height. The ground of the canyon was covered with rich alluvial soil and its thickness reached up to 10 meters in some places. The soil was so incredibly fertile that the same plot could be harvested three times a year. This wide and fertile canyon constituted the farmable region of Ancient Egypt and a population of a few millions had gathered here. During the Roman period, the population of the valley was around 7 million and during the period of Pharaohs the figure was not much different. Beyond the rocky slope, however, there was nothing but desert: the Libyan Desert to the west and the Arabian Desert to the east.

Similar conditions were observed in the valley of Tigris-Euphrates. Just like in Egypt, these rivers provided excellent opportunities for reaching inner regions. It offered plenty protein sources with multitudes of fish and water bird species. Since the valley was surrounded with arid lands, dispersion of the people to a large region was prevented. As a result, just like in Egypt, the people turned into a compact society, where the exchange of ideas and discoveries was easier. As the population grew, there was an increasing need for institutions to ensure social control. Institutions concerning administration, schools, legal and ethical laws, production and distribution of property can be listed among these institutions. Meanwhile, as li-

ving conditions got more complex and artificial, a need for recording the accomplishments and for developing new techniques appeared. As a result, writing was invented, metal casting was discovered, mathematical operations were introduced, astronomy was developed and foundation of physics was laid. With such accomplishments, civilization was put to its first great test.”<sup>43</sup>

Edward Mc. Nell Burns, who states that the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the Nile valley acted as an incubator for the progress of civilizations, evaluates the climate conditions in both regions and says that:

“Climate conditions took great part in both regions. The atmosphere of Egypt is dry and it is revitalizing. Suffocating discomfort felt during summer in the countries that lie further north is not felt here even on hottest days. The average temperature in winter varies between 13 degrees in the delta and 18 degrees in the valley. The average temperature in summer is 28 degrees and rarely does it reach 50 degrees, but the nights are always cool and humidity is very low. Outside the delta, precipitation is next to nothing, but this lack of humidity is balanced out by the flooding of the Nile, which happens annually from July to October. The complete absence of malaria in Upper Egypt and the lack of knowledge on malaria in the shore regions bear great historical importance. The direction of the prevailing winds is also an advantageous factor that cannot be labeled insignificant. The wind blows from the north, thereby against the flow of the Nile for more than three quarters of the year. As a result, the problem of transportation is greatly simplified. Owing to the wind blowing in the opposite direction to the flow of the river, transportation upstream is not much different than transportation downstream. In ancient times, this factor must have constituted a great advantage for enabling communication between people living hundreds of kilometers away.

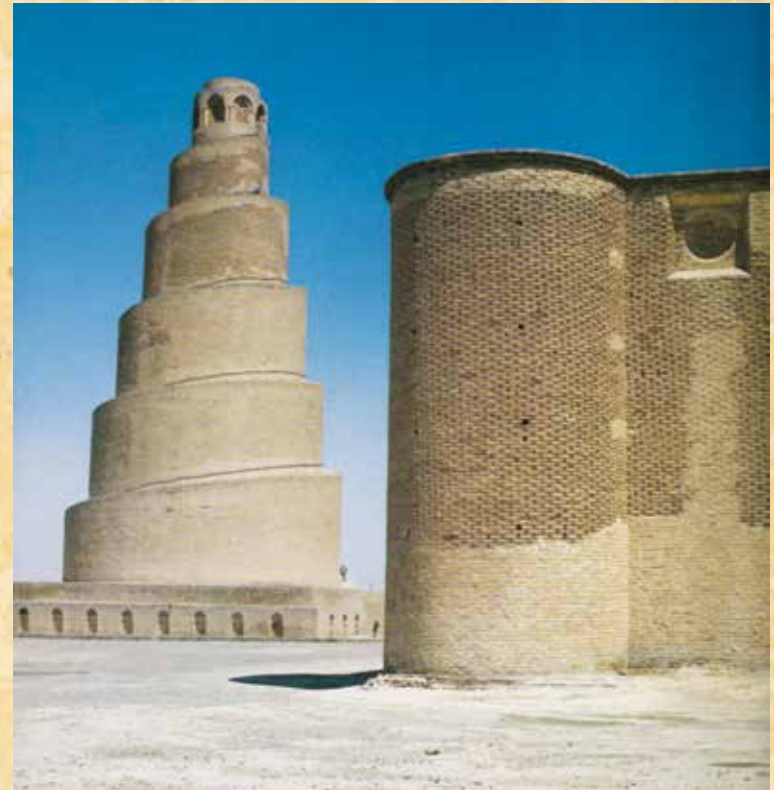
It is understood that the climate conditions in Mesopotamia are not as favorable as those in Egypt. Here, summer

43. Edward Mc. Nell Burns, *Age*, I, p. 28.

is more relentless, humidity is higher and tropic diseases cause great losses of life. Even though the scorching winds from the Indian Ocean debilitates people, those winds blow righton time to ripen the fruit of the date tree. One of the greatest reasons behind the inhabitation of the valley, which is between the two rivers, by a large number of people is the excellent yield of date which was the main nutritional resource of the Near East. Due to the melting of snow on the mountains to the north, there were annual floods in the Babylonian plains, similar to that in Egypt. Because of these floods, the soil gained humidity and was covered with a layer mud of extraordinary fertility. However, it must be noted that the water conditions in Mesopotamia were not as favorable as those in Egypt. Floods turned into disasters at times, and this factor left its scars on the progress of culture.

The most important of geographic influences is the lack of precipitation in both regions, which stimulated entrepreneurship and creative capabilities. Despite the annual floods from the rivers, there was not enough humidity left in the soil to yield plentiful crop. Few weeks after the recession of water, the soil was petrified once again due to sunlight. Therefore, irrigation was necessary to fully utilize the fertility of the soil. As a result, complex dams and irrigation canals were set up 5000 years ago both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. The mathematical ability, engineering capability and the social collaboration that are required to realize such projects have been used for other purposes as well, thus civilization was born.”<sup>44</sup>

According to Edward Mc. Nell Burns, “Until recently, most historians considered the Egyptian civilization as the earliest civilization. This assumption was based on the conclusions drawn by James H. Breadsted and Alexandre Moret, the two leading Egyptologists of the world. However, the evidence dug up between the two wars of the 20th century were believed to indicate Mesopotamian influences in the Nile Valley as early as 3500 BC. This influence was apparent in examples such as use of cylinder seal, construction methods, artistic motifs



*Samarra Ulu Mosque in Al-Fârâbî era*

and elements of a writing system that is undoubtedly of Mesopotamian origin. Such early arrival of these discoveries from Tigris-Euphrates valley to Egypt irrefutably shows the long history of the Mesopotamian civilization, but does not prove that it is older than the Egyptian civilization. The aforementioned discoveries were not copied blindly, on the contrary, Egyptians adapted these discoveries to conform to their own culture. The only conclusion that can be safely drawn in the light of such evidence is that both civilizations are ancient and that to a great extent they progressed in parallel.”<sup>45</sup>

As I stated before as well, with the discovery of Göbeklitepe these views changed and using various scientific methods it was proven that the earliest artifact of civilization that reached today appeared 12000 years ago in Upper Euphrates basin of Mesopotamia.

44. Edward Mc. Nell Burns, Age., I, p. 29.

45 . Edward Mc. Nell Burns, Age., I, p. 29.



*A miniature prepared for Fârâbî Symposium*

## II.

### AL-FARABI'S NOTION OF CIVILIZATION

Undoubtedly the most important and most interesting section of al-Farabi thought, which concerns the current events closely as well, is the section we can label as philosophy of civilization. Al-Farabi is not only the pioneer of the philosophy of civilization with his works titled *The Virtuous City* (el-Medînetü'l-Fâdila), *Civil Politics* (es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye) and *On the Philosophy of Politics* (Fusûlü'l-Medenî), he is also among the founding fathers of the modern political science.

Naturally, in order to address al-Farabi's philosophy of civilization, his views on the main components that constitute his concept of civilization must be mentioned. On that note, one must first examine the thinker's view on happiness. Accordingly, it is necessary to scrutinize the subjects of virtue, virtuous society, virtuous city and virtuous state, and to reveal the original aspects of al-Farabi's notion of civilization in conjunction with today's approach on civilization.

Human element, which is the focus of all happenings, is at the core of al-Farabi's system of thought. To him, the happiness of man is the primary goal. Therefore, the thinker first attempts to explain what happiness is, and then mentions the structure of ethics that would make man happy, and later deals with a system of state based on this structure of ethics, in other words with philosophy of politics.

According to al-Farabi, man is created to be happy. Some search for happiness in physical pleasures, some in fortune, and some in power. Actually, the most real and exalted happiness is the one arising from enlightenment by knowledge. This only becomes possible through maturing of the human mind and making a connection with the Active Intellect. Surely, not everyone can attain such happiness. Only prophets and philosophers can achieve that.

According to al-Farabi, every man is equally prone to good and evil by birth. Hence, he must acquire the virtuous attitude that will lead him to happiness, and once acquired, he must strive to preserve it. Only those who form a habit and competence of being virtuous, and those who lead a balanced life by abstaining from inappropriate behavior can be happy. Virtuous behavior, as Aristotle put it, is justice which means the mid-point of extravagance and miserliness (golden mean). This is can only be attained through wisdom.

According to al-Farabi, happiness of both individuals and societies is possible by having the followin four virtues: theoretical virtues, intellectual virtues, ethical virtues and practical virtues:

Theoretical virtues: express all kinds of knowledge of physical and abstract beings, and in addition, the knowledge about God as the ultimate and highest principle of being.

Intellectual virtues: are the effort in searching for that which is good and pleasant. Moralists and lawmakers must definitely possess this virtue. Moreover, the Activity of searching and exhibiting that which is useful and beautiful in arts and in practical life is also the product of intellectual virtues.

Ethical virtues: are the man's effort in searching that which is good, right and pleasant, during which he abstains from any extravagance in the actions he performs with his own will.

Practical virtues: are the self-discipline and self-improvement of man on subjects he has a talent for.

Theoretical virtues are the field of metaphysics, in which the knowledge of beings that are intellectually perceived is acquired. Some of this knowledge is innate, and one does not know how he acquired them. These are the knowledge of primary principles. Some, on the other hand, are acquired later on through these principles. As for the intellectual virtues, which appear as a result of correct use of the power of thought, they can temporarily or permanently benefit a family, a society, a state or even everyone.

While ethical virtues can be relatively beneficial and good, they can also be automatically and truly beneficial and good. Those that are truly good and beneficial are the virtues that coexist with other virtues and that are embraced by everyone.

Practical virtues are acquired after they are taught by the state or society. The teaching can be through persuasion and manipulation or through oppression and coercion. The task of the administration is to perform education through use of both methods by virtuous and qualified people, thus to grant the above virtues to its citizens.

According to al-Farabi, a virtuous life can only occur in an ideal society. Ideal society, on the other hand, can only come

to life under an ideal way of administration, which is composed of virtuous individuals. An ideal administration corresponds to a healthy and well-functioning system of state. At this stage, al-Farabi, who investigates the source of the idea of state, mentions four different approaches:

Ontological approach: According to this, mankind has observed the existence of a perfect system in the universe he lives in, and wanted to establish a similar system to govern their relationship with each other. The idea of state originated so and civilization was thus shaped.

Organic approach. According to this, mankind has observed the systematic function within his own body, and decided that a similar arrangement would be appropriate in his society, thus the device called state appeared.

Theory of creation. According to this, since human nature, which is innately civilized, despises chaos and anarchy and supports the system, it wanted to make this system prevalent in social life as well, resulting in the origination of the idea of state.

Theory of justice. According to this, mankind who desires happiness by nature, has observed that the most important element for happiness was justice, thereby pursued a just system, and thus appeared the idea of state.

Al-Farabi who first divided human societies as fully developed and underdeveloped societies, also attempts to deal with developed societies under three categories as Small (City), Medium (State) and Large (Empire). As for underdeveloped societies, he studies them in four sections consisting of Family, Street, District and Village societies.

The thinker, who later deliberated on the forms of cities and states, divides states in two as virtuous states and those that are not. He mentions that the virtuous state has only one form whereas non-virtuous state can be observed in four different forms. He deals with those in four different categories as the Perverted state, the Mistaken state, the changing state and the Ignorant state. Moreover, he states that six different forms of the Ignorant state exist. He argues that in order to determine which of these categories

a certain administration falls into, the administrative staff's perceptions of right, justice, ethics and humanity almond with the intellectual and ethical qualities of the head of state.

According to al-Farabi, a virtuous state resembles a healthy organism. In an organism, every organ has a certain duty and it is the heart that ensures their cooperation. Also in the virtuous state, the functioning of the administration depends on the head (president). For that reason, heads should possess certain qualities so that they can administer virtuously. Above all, the head of the virtuous state should have a healthy and perfect build. He must have quick wits, strong memory, abilities of perception and evaluation, elegance of expression and language, and a passion for knowledge and science; he must not be overly passionate about earthly pleasures, must possess the virtues of righteousness and honesty, must be solid and fond of his honor, must be especially diligent in being just, must be determined, courageous, contented and generous.

He who possesses these twelve fundamental qualities is not only an ideal head of state, but also reaches the position of a universal leader, who can construct a virtuous society, which al-Farabi calls "Imam" or "Reis" (Chief).

Al-Farabi is well aware that all these qualities cannot fully be present in a single person. Hence, he thinks that the idea of a virtuous state should be accepted as an idea, and states that at least the head of state should definitely possess these six qualities: He must possess wisdom, a knowledge of the laws made by his predecessors, a notion of law so that he can make laws and regulations, a superior intellect and capability of persuasion to provide solutions to new problems and a strong will and determination at times of war.

If, according to al-Farabi, all these qualities are not combined in one person, the state can be administered by two people (co-presidents), one possessing wisdom and the other possessing the remaining qualities; or by a committee of six, each of whom possessing one of the above listed qualities.



A page from the Latin translation of Isaguci book from the Complete Works of Aristotle

Without doubt, al-Farabi has utilized Plato's notion of state in his own opinion of the state. About the administration of the state, just like in every section of philosophy, he – due to his method- not only united Plato's ideal state and Aristotle's aristocratic (elitist) state views, but also considered the foundations of Islamic belief and tried to design a way of administration that is composed of a combination of these three. The head of state, whom he labeled as "Chief" or "Imam", is a person who collects the superior qualities of kings, philosophers and prophets.<sup>46</sup>

46 . Fârâbî, el-Medinetü'l-fâzıla, pp. 117-174; es-Siyâsetü'l-medeniyye, pp.

Therefore, al-Farabi not only suggests a model state different than Greek City states, but also attempted to show the fundamental principles for establishing and sustaining great empires. Indeed, in ancient Greece, beyond the family or the city, there was no notion of state or united states.

In order to correctly understand al-Farabi's notion of civilization, we will assess and analyze his works on the subject of civilization one by one. And we will attempt to reveal how his views can contribute to the formation of a healthy concept of civilization, which is direly needed by mankind today.

### 1. İhsâü'l-Ulûm

The brief booklet, authored by al-Farabi, and previously mentioned as Classification of Sciences (İhsâü'l-Ulûm), has attracted great attention not only in Islamic world but also in Medieval Latin and Hebrew worlds.

In Classification of Sciences, al-Farabi first made a new classification of sciences that included the Islamic sciences, hence laid the foundation of a new system of philosophy instead of the classification of sciences called Trivium-Quadrivium, which was passed on from Ancient Greece to Rome, and then to Christian Scholasticism while he was methodizing his theory of knowledge in Fârâbîihsâü'l-Ulûm.

In this work al-Farabi presents a diagram of new sciences instead of classical sciences classification which has been valid from the Hellenistic period.<sup>47</sup>

This work by al-Farabi brought important innovations to the Latin world, which did not allow any other science except those in listed Trivium during the Middle Ages. As Henri Corbin put it: In this title, "which had great influence on the classification of sciences in the Western Scholasticism"<sup>48</sup> al-Farabi gathers sciences under five main sections depending on the importance of their subjects, the certainty

of the evidence they utilize and practicality. He dealt with each of these separately and introduced the major and minor disciplines of science each included:

1. Linguistic sciences: including grammar and syntax
2. Logic: including eight sections of Organon.
3. Mathematical sciences: al-Farabi called these Educational sciences. In this section Arithmetic, Geometry, Optics, Astronomy, Music and Mechanics were included.
4. Physical and Metaphysical Sciences. Natural and supernatural sciences were included in this section.
5. Civilized sciences: Ethics, Politics, Fiqh (jurisprudence) and Theology were listed in this section.

Al-Farabi, who stated that the main purpose in classification of sciences is to know how to make use of each science, said: "Thus, whatever man desires to accomplish through science, he does so not blindly or mistakenly, but through knowing and observing. With the help of this book, everyone can make a comparison between sciences and find on which one is more superior, more useful, clearer, more solid, stronger, and which one is lax or weaker."<sup>49</sup>

The novel and most important section in al-Farabi's classification in sciences is the one he mentioned as "Civilized sciences". He explains what he means by civilized sciences as such: "When it comes to civilized sciences, it is a science which investigated the types of volitional deeds and actions, the moral character and habits that cause these to occur, and the goals in doing them, along with how they should be present in man and how their ranking should be according to the way they are present in man."<sup>50</sup>

He later states that the goal of civilized sciences is the attainment of happiness in the true sense. He states that, unlike popular belief, this does not merely consist of prosperity, generosity and physical pleasures, but it is beauty and virtue, and it is not fully attainable in this world, but only in the afterlife. He states that true happiness is only possible after distribution and common use of the above traits among cities and societies, and that this can only be possible under

69-107.

47. Detailed information was given on the content of the work in the section of "Concept of Civilization" see p.. 62-80.

48. Henri Corbin, İslâm Felsefesi Tarihi, 161; G.-C. Anawati, Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane, pp. 106ff.

49. Farabi, İlimlerin Sayımı, Turkishtrans., Ahmet Ateş, İstanbul-1986.

50. Farabi, Age, p.118.

the directorate of a leader. Al-Farabi who reports the importance of the leader to prevent these traits from vanishing, mentions that this requires gift and talent, thus leaders are gifted and talented people, and politics are the deeds done by these gifted people.<sup>51</sup>

Al-Farabi, who reports the presence of different forms of leadership, states that the leadership, which harnesses and fortifies that which is true happiness, is virtuous leadership; and allegiant to this leader are the virtuous cities and communities living within these cities are the virtuous communities. In contrast, ignorant leaderships mistakenly consider things which are not truly happiness as happiness and reinforce traits and behaviors which enable it. He states that there are many kinds of it and that they are called under different names depending on the goals they pursue.<sup>52</sup>

According to the philosopher, who reports that virtuous leadership can only be acquired through learning the universal laws (norms) or through mingling with people, observing for an extended period of time and maturation and specialization, the leader can become a virtuous leader as a result of extraction of theoretical knowledge through experiment and observation.<sup>53</sup>

Al-Farabi, who also mentions the opportunities granted to man by the notion of civilization as a result of the above mentioned virtues, says "Civilized philosophy brings forth the universal laws (norms) in the deeds that are observed and willingly done, and in the abilities acquired"<sup>54</sup> and lays the foundations of new philosophy of civilization.

He reports that philosophy of civilization is divided in two: one that can distinguish true happiness from those which are mistaken for happiness; and the other that can distinguish volitional and popular universal things (universal norms of behavior), deeds, morals and habits from each other and assign the ones which are virtuous and ones which are not.



*A View from Hariri's office*

The thinker, thus telling us how a virtuous city or state and the leader administering this state can have a will that establishes a civilization, states that philosophy of civilization has two main sections, first of which teaches the science of Fiqh (jurisprudence), in which beliefs, ideas, deeds and behaviors are discussed, and the other teaches science of Kelam (theology), which gives man the explanatory power by confirming the commands of the creator and showing the error of the man's views on him. He mentions that a person can have profound knowledge on both jurisprudence and theology, but adds that scholars of theology have other aspects.

The work was translated to Latin three times and to Hebrew once. The first Latin translation of *Ihsâu'l-Ulûm* by Do-

51 . Farabi, Age, pp.118-119.

52 . Farabi, Age, p.119.

53 . Farabi, Age, p.120.

54 . Farabi, Age, p.121.

minicus Gundissalinus was quite incomplete. This translation which was included in the work named “De Divisione Philosophiae” which is the compilation of the mentioned translator was published by Guilemus Camerarius in 1638 in Paris with the name of “Alpharabii Philosophii Opusculum de Scientiis”.<sup>55</sup>

The same translation was re-published in 1903 by Ludwig Baur in “Gundissalinus, De Divisione Philosophiae” published in volume IV of “Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters”.<sup>56</sup>

Gerard de Cremona translated this work to Latin for the second time with the name of “De scientiis” or “De Divisione Scientiarum”. 4 copies of this translation survives in Paris, (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 9335, Pp. 143v-151v), Wigorniensis (Bibl. Capituli, Q. 81, f. 85), Austria, Graz (Bibl. Universitatis, 482, f. 222. In this manuscript al-Farabi’s name is mentioned as “AlFârâbîi vel Abunazir” and it is noted that the translation was performed by Gerard de Cremona); Graz (Bibl. Monastrii, 578, Folio, 27. Al-Farabi’s name is recorded similarly in this manuscript as well) libraries.<sup>57</sup> This translation was published by Gonzalez Palencia in 1933 in Madrid.<sup>58</sup>

The third Latin translation of İhsâu’l-Ulûm was attributed to Avendauth (John of Seville) and published with the name of “De Scientiis” by abovementioned Guilemus Camerarius in Opera printed in 1638 in Paris.<sup>59</sup>

When it comes to Hebrew translations of İhsâu’l-Ulûm, the work was firstly translated to Hebrew by Calonymos ben Calonuymos of Arles in Spring 1314. 3 copies of this translation survived in Munich (308) and Parma (R., 458; 776) libraries.<sup>60</sup>

55. M. Cunbur, *age.*, 19.

56. P. M. Bouyges, Notes sur les Philosophes Arabes Connus des Latins au Moyen Age (*Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l’Université Saint-Joseph*), 50.

57. Ahmet Ateş, *age.*, 50; M. Cunbur, *age.*, 20.

58. C. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, (Arapça çev., IV), 146.

59. Alpharabii ve tustissimi Aristotelis İnter Prelis. Opera Omnia que Latina Lingua, Translatu Avendehut, Published by, Guilemus Camerarius, Paris 1638.

60. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, *Histoire de la Philosophie en İslâm*, II, 494.

Furthermore Hebrew translation of some parts of İhsâu’l-Ulûm is available in the work named “Reschith ha Hokma” (Introduction to Wisdom) authored by Schemtob ben Josehp ibn Falaqueras.<sup>61</sup>

## 2. Arâü Ehli’l-Medineti’l-Fâdila

It is understood that Al-Farabi started to compile this work in Baghdad and completed it in Damascus but he reviewed the work and re-arranged the titles when he was in Egypt, namely two years before his death. There are different ideas and expressions in classical sources about the name of the work. As a matter of fact, İbnü’l-Kifti, one of Islamic thought historians states that Al-Farabi authored two unique works on theological and civilization sciences and one of them was es-Siyâsetü’l-Medeniyye, and the other was es-Sîretü’l-Fâdila.<sup>62</sup> It is understood that İbnü’l-Kifti or the copyists recorded the name of el-Medînetü’l-Fâdila as es-Sîretü’l-Fâdila by mistake. Although the subject of both works is almost the same, it is observed that their expressions and contents were different.<sup>63</sup> This work was translated into Western languages only in the previous century.

Al-Farabi, who discusses the “opinions of the people of the virtuous city” in this work takes notice of two important subjects, which first form the virtuous city and subsequently enable the construction of civilization: One of these is related to our knowledge about God and universe (Theology and Cosmology) and the other is the system of city and state which must be established inspired from cosmos. The philosopher thinks that the virtuous system of state and city, established with these two issues under consideration, would ultimately transform into a civilization.

His book titled “opinions of the people of the virtuous city” begins directly with Theology without any introduction. It seems that al-Farabi wants to underline the impossibility of establishing a virtuous city, i.e. a healthy civilization,

61. Moritz Steinschneider, *Al- Fârâbî, des Arabischen Philosophien*, 159. cited by, C. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, (Arabic trans. IV), 146.

62. .. İbnü’l-Kifti, *İhbarü’l-ulema Ulema bi ahbari’l hükema Ahbari’l Hükema*, 183.

63. Detailed information about the content of the work was given in the section of “Concept of Civilization”.

without a consistent and extensive perception of divinity. Next, he mentions the positive qualities of the First Cause, and explains why it cannot be depicted with negative qualities.<sup>64</sup> As for divinity, he points out the existence of God, whom he calls the “First Cause” (al-Awwal), that it exists automatically and does not depend on another cause, that its existence is eternal and exempt from any deficiency, and thus he begins his book.<sup>65</sup>

He states that the first cause (al-Awwal) is not only immaterial, but also does not depend on any material thing, that material things absolutely have a form, God on the other hand is excluded from form, and that every form is required to have a substance. He thus attempts to place the Islamic belief of pure oneness (Tawhid) in a new systematic structure (philosophical form), far away from the polytheistic anthropomorphic approach of Ancient philosophy.

According to al-Farabi, since the First cause (al-Awwal) is not material and is the only cause of material existence, than by essence, it must have a non-material constitution. Moreover, since its judgment alone was absolute in the universe, for this judgment to occur, it is required to be a being that possesses an abstract intellect which can still function in the material world. Due to the fact that it is not like the beings we perceive through our organs of cognition, its possession of an intellect cannot be comprehended through our intellectual structure either. Thus it must both be the Intellect, the one that knows and the one that is known. Since all these qualities are wholly present within it, it does not cause abundance. Considering that the first cause (al-Awwal) possesses an absolute ability that is abstracted from substance, our intellect, which is intertwined with substance, cannot fully comprehend and perceive it. In order to do so, our intellect should also diverge from substance.<sup>66</sup>

Next dealing with the subject of how the One and Only creator, which has nothing in common with the visible forms



*A lesson In the madrasa*

of being and generation, creates material beings, al-Farabi introduces the theory of emergence, which he tried to develop dissimilarly to theories of Ancient Cosmogony and Cosmology. Since the first cause (al-Awwal) is the cause of existence of all beings, the emergence of beings from God constitutes the backbone of al-Farabi's system.

According to al-Farabi, all beings on earth receive their existence from God. The beings that emanate from God are immaterial essences. However, in forms of intellects and celestial bodies, the circle of emergence gradually descends from immaterial to material and from superlunary worlds to sublunary worlds. Since emerge means a spontaneous overflow and spread (advance) of sorts, it does not cause any deficits in God. Due to the fact that there is only one element in the superlunary world, generation and decay are irrelevant here. Sublunary world, on the other hand, is com-

64 . Farabi, Age, pp.39-40.

65. Farabi, Araü Ehli'l-Medineti'l-Fazdila, pp.37-38 ; publ., Albert Nasri Nader, Beirut-1986.

66. Farabi, Age, pp. 46 ff.

posed of four elements, thus elements transform into each other and through this transformation, genesis of plants, animals and humans is necessary.<sup>67</sup>

Man is at the pinnacle of levels of generation, because in man, the intellect and the mind, which are composed of the four elements having material structure and immaterial structure, are combined. The human intellect has the power to potentially know the material and immaterial intellectables (noumena), i.e. has power to perceive and comprehend. There is a need for the intervention of an external force in order to realize this potential or to actually know intellectables (noumena) which are potentially known. Al-Farabi calls this force –which he partially borrowed from Aristotle- the Active Intellect.<sup>68</sup>

Dealing with the powers of human soul next, al-Farabi states that first the power of nourishment, than power of senses, subsequently power of imagination and ultimately power of speaking/thinking surfaced in man. Later, he attempts to explain how these various forces unite in harmony and shape the material and intellectual life of man.<sup>69</sup>

Al-Farabi, who thence discusses how the power of imagination functions and explains how intellectables are envisaged in the power of imagination, states that some intellectables are actual intellect and are actually known in essence, therefore are not of material structure; and that some are not actually known in essence, i.e. are material things, and explains how these can be known and conceptualized.<sup>70</sup>

Once the intellectables (noumena) emerge in the human mind or intellect, the desires of thought, deliberation, circumspection, memory and in-depth comprehension and the willingness to attain things that he previously knew are surfaced. Thus, will and volition are formed. These give man the desire to specialize, and that is happiness. Happiness is the existential sufficiency and maturity of the human spirit

in absence of substance. According to him, happiness is not some means to an end, but is something good that is desired for its own sake.

There is nothing more valuable or important beyond happiness for man to achieve. The actions that hinder happiness are themselves evil and horrid actions. The situations and abilities arising from these actions are of deficiency, disgrace and inferiority.<sup>71</sup>

The thinker, who then discusses the subjects of dreams, revelations and angels that bring the revelations, lists these as a preliminary to explain the main axes constituting ideal city. He states that mankind has to live in communities by nature, because it is impossible for man to attain the expertise and maturity, for which he innately yearns, on his own, and that he has to collaborate within a community, and that human communities arose from this necessity.

The thinker, who then progresses on to the topic of diversity of human communities, first separates the communities in two as those which are competent and those which are not. Then he divides the competent communities into three as large, medium and small. He reports that large communities are those present in all habitable regions of the world, and defines the community of a nation or an ummah in a prosperous region of the earth as a medium community; and the community of city people present in a region where an ummah has resided as small community. He states that incompetent communities in contrast, are those composed of a people of a village, a district, a street or a household.

According to the thinker, a city is a portion of an ummah's habitat, and an ummah is a portion of all habitable regions of the world; the village is the servant of a city, district is a section of the city, street is a section of the district and house hold is a section of the street. Therefore, the highest competence (refinement) that leads to highest good (benevolence) can only be attained in the city and is not possible in lower communities.<sup>72</sup>

67. Farabi, Age, pp. 66 ff.

68 . Farabi, Age, pp. 70 ff.

69 . Farabi, Age, pp. 87 ff.

70 . Farabi, Age, pp. 101 ff.

71 . Farabi, Age, pp. 105 ff.

72 . Farabi, Age, pp. 117-118.

According to Al-Farabi, who attempted to contemplate a virtuous world and a design of civilization, a virtuous civilization 1200 years ago, thinks that the establishment of a virtuous world is possible through establishing a circle of the virtuous (Ummah). He states that circle of the virtuous is only possible through building virtuous communities. If there is cooperation in a city on subjects that can lead to true happiness, than that city is a virtuous city (el-Medinetü'l-fâdila). Likewise, if people gather with purpose of cooperation to attain happiness, than this is a virtuous gathering (el-ictimâu'l-fâdil). If all cities gather together to cooperate for attaining happiness, than they comprise a virtuous ummah (el-ümmetü'l-fâdila). Only then is it possible to build a virtuous world (el-Ma'mûretü'l-fâdila).<sup>73</sup> Thus, the virtuous state can only be realized when nations of the world gather with the goals of cooperation and attaining happiness.

Al-Farabi, who found an analogy between the city and the human body, draws parallels between the body and head of man and the head and president of the virtuous city, and based on this, he lists the qualities necessary in the head of a virtuous city.

The philosopher, who then commences on to introduce the cities contrary to the virtuous city, delves into the subject by explaining how the common character of the people of the virtuous city is formed. According to him, since the people of the virtuous city share the common grounds of knowledge and virtue, their actions will be in concert as well. In time, these actions will embed virtuousness into their character. If the following generations keep up with these habits, they will elevate to a higher point compared to previous generations. Thus, distinct, yet similar groups are formed. This is a process which provides some sort of genetic continuity which enhances the diversity, quantity and quality of happiness. According to the thinker, this common character is the connection between previous and future generations.<sup>74</sup>

Since the behavior of the people of unvirtuous cities is ill and lowly, the mood of those living there is also ill and low.



A view from Al-Fârâbî's Grave located today in Babü's-Sağir Cemetery in Damascus

73 . Farabi, Age, p. 118.

74 . Farabi, Age, pp. 134-139.

The illness of their moods increases as long as they insist on and keep up with their ill behavior and eventually they get depressed and fall ill. Since they are ill in spirit, they make a habit of things that are bad and ill, and they are disturbed by those which are virtuous and good, which they do not even want to think about. "Just as some patients do not notice their illness, suppose they are healthy and upon the reinforcement of this supposition, do not follow the advice of any physician, some people also do not notice the situation they are in, on the contrary, believe that they are in great condition do not listen to advice and do not respect the ideas of any leader, teacher or guide."<sup>75</sup> Thus, the illness of the society and city and of the administrations governing them goes on.

Al-Farabi, who lists the common features possessed by the people of the virtuous city after mentioning the Ignorant, Perverted and Mistaken cities, i.e. administrations, and states, tells that the First Cause (God) and knowledge of its qualities are prominent among the common features of the people of the virtuous city. Additionally, man must know the qualities of the abstract beings, which compose the foundation of al-Farabi's cosmology, of the Active Intellect and of the celestial bodies. Moreover, man is required to know the qualities of the objects, their ways of generation and decay; stability, order, justice (balance) and wisdom in natural objects; existence of man, what spiritual powers man possessed, and how he came to possess will and volition; the traits of the first chief, and how revelations occurred. After stating the condition of the virtuous city, how its people attained happiness; and stating in contrast, why the people of the unvirtuous city were unhappy, and that some of them would undergo pain and suffering in the afterlife, and some of them would be condemned to nihility, he attempts to explain virtuous nations how they can acquire knowledge of the demise of unvirtuous nations.<sup>76</sup>

### 3. es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye

This work that al-Farabi is thought to have written toward the end of his life is called with the names of "es-Siyâsetü'l-Me-

deniyye" and "Mebâdü'l-Mevcûdât".<sup>77</sup> Probably because İbn Meymûn recommends Samuel ibn Tibbon to read this work in a letter, Moses, son of Samuel ibn Tibbon (ben Samuel ibn Tibbon) translated this work into Hebrew in 1248 with the name of "Sefer ha Tehillot Hannimsa'ot".<sup>78</sup> This translation was printed in the book named "Sefer ha Asif" published in 1850 in London by Z. Philippowsky.<sup>79</sup>

es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye begins with the statement that there are six kinds of causes of being and they are composed of six levels. The First Cause is at the first level, second causes (es-Sevânî = Intellects) are at the second level, the Active Intellect is at the third level, the Soul is at the fourth level, the Form is at the fifth level and the Substance is at the sixth level. Next, al-Farabi gives information about beings that are present at each level.

Al-Farabi dwells on the First Cause (al-Awwal) in es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye (Civil Politics); states that the First Cause can never suffer from deficiency in any way, and that there can be no other being more valuable and more perfect than its existence; and emphasizes that it cannot be dissected or divided and it is literally One and Unique, Omniscient (Alîm) and Wise (Hakîm). Next, he tells that joy and pleasure of knowing the First Cause cannot be compared to anything, and gives explanations on the names it will be called by. Subsequently, he begins narrating how beings came to emanate from it.

Al-Farabi, who moves on to beings in the sublunary world from celestial bodies, and on to communities of man from plants, animals, and beings which can think and those cannot, states that mankind can only meet its essential needs and realize its superior states when they live in a community. Just like in el-Medînetü'l-Fâdila, he divides human communities into three categories as large, medium and small: he reiterates that a large community is a community

77. Ebu Nasr el-Fârâbî, *es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye* (neşr., Favzi Mitrî en-Neccâr, Beyrut-1993) önsözü, 14-15. Eserin içeriği ile ilgili olarak "Medeniyet Konsepti" bölümünde detaylı bilgi verilmiştir.

78. C. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, (Arapça çev. IV), 142.

79. Ahmed Ateş, el-Fârâbî'nin Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası, (*Belleten*, XV, LVII) 189.

75. Farabi, *Age*, pp. 140-141.

76. Farabi, *Age*, p. 146.

of many nations in collaboration, a medium community is a community of ummah and a small community is a community encircled by the city, and that these communities are competent (kâmil) communities.<sup>80</sup>

According to al-Farabi, cities are at the first stage of social competencies. A competent community of people is composed of various ummahs. There are two natural properties that distinguish two ummahs: One is the natural morals and the other is natural qualifications. There is also a third thing that distinguishes ummahs from each other, and that is language, which is manmade and has influence on natural formations.<sup>81</sup>

The thinker, who dwells on the reasons for divergence of ummahs next, reports that the environment and climate the ummahs live in as well as the food they eat and the agricultural methods used to acquire the food are influential in this regard, and these shape morals and qualifications. He states that the environmental conditions and celestial bodies are influential in the maturing and becoming competent of man's morals and qualifications, but adds that the most influential cause of competences is the Active Intellect. The Active Intellect provides mankind with the power and elements of how to attain other competences. This element is the first sciences and first intellectables (noumena), which appear in the thinking region of the soul. Such knowledge and intellectables (noumena) are given to man by the Active Intellect. It is also the Active Intellect that provides the Soul with the power of sensing, and the power to desire (el-kuvvetü'n-nüzuiyye) which develops due to power of sensing and in which emotions of desire and hatred manifest. The will forms from the combination of these two. With his will, man can go towards happiness or unhappiness; he can do good or bad deeds, he can tend towards beauty or ugliness.<sup>82</sup>

Al-Farabi, who then moves onto the subject of happiness just as in el-Medînetü'l-Fâdila, mentions that happiness

is the absolute good and that good is divided into two as voluntary and involuntary, and that happiness is the highest competence due to the fact that attaining happiness is mankind's ultimate goal.

According to Al-Farabi, happiness is possible when the Active Intellect provides man with the first noumena, which are the first knowledge. Naturally, not everyone are born with a disposition ready to embrace the first noumena, because by their nature, men grow and develop possessing different powers and talents as individuals. Some, by nature, never acknowledge the first noumena, whereas some –such as lunatics- acknowledge them inappropriately, and some acknowledge them appropriately. Those with sound human nature are the latter, not the others. Therefore, it is only them who can attain happiness.<sup>83</sup>

The thinker who gives information on various human natures next, states that not everybody can know everything, and consequently not everyone can attain certain happiness, and that in order to attain happiness, man is dependent on others' assistance and leadership. According to him, someone who leads something is the head of that thing. The first head (Chief) is a person possessing eminent and superior nature, and whose soul has reached the level where connection with the Active Intellect is possible. For the ancients, a true king is a person possessing this trait. The person who is said to receive revelations (Prophet) must also be him. Man can only be honored by revelation if he reaches this level, because there are no more intermediaries between him and the Active Intellect.<sup>84</sup>

According to al-Farabi, people administered by such a Head (Chief) are virtuous, good and happy people. If such people gather in the form of an ummah, than a happy ummah arises. If such people gather together in a settlement under the leadership of this chief, then that settlement is the virtuous city. If, on the other hand, they are gathered in not one but in many different settlements, and governed by different administrators other than this Chief, then those who

80 . Farabi, Age, p. 69.

81 . Farabi, Age, p. 70.

82 . Farabi, Age, pp. 71-72.

83. Farabi, Age, pp. 74-75.

84 . Farabi, Age, pp. 78-79.

reside in this settlement are peculiar, yet virtuous people. They might be in different settlements either due to the lack of a city to gather them together, or due to the fact that they had to leave such cities because of enemy invasion, plague, draught or other reasons.<sup>85</sup>

Al-Farabi then moves on to the subjects of mood of the people of the virtuous city, who he mentions in el-Medî-netü'l-Fâdila, and of how such mood is passed genetically from generation to generation. Here, he extensively explains the points he listed there. Although the subject of both works is similar, the expression and style is enriched with various examples.

The thinker who divides the cities that are opposite of the virtuous city into three categories as ignorant, mistaken and perverted, adds arriviste cities, which he calls growing cities, to this categorization. By the term growing, he means the harmful weeds and briars that grow in a field on their own and intertwine with vegetation. Arriviste communities are communities of bestial nature which spontaneously appear within the virtuous city. "People of bestial nature are not only uncivilized, but can never constitute civilized communities. On the contrary, some of these are like domestic animals, some are like wild animals and some are monsters. Furthermore, there are some among them who alone or in groups, take shelter in the moors just like wild animals; and there are also some who take shelter close to the cities. There are some among them who eat only raw meat, or graze on grass in the moors, or hunt just like wild animals."<sup>86</sup>

Next, al-Farabi reports that the people of ignorant cities are civilized, but their cities and civilized communities vary in form. He mentions the mandatory community, in which necessities are met; oligarchic communities, in which money and fortune are the purpose; community of pleasure, in which insignificant things are valued; aristocratic community, in which the elites are prominent; despotic community, in which tyranny reigns; and free (democratic) communities, which are made up of free and united cities in this regard.

After explaining the reasons for formation of these communities, he lists the traits of the heads governing these communities in detail.<sup>87</sup>

Al-Farabi, who then mentions the mistaken cities, reports that people of the mistaken cities have embraced certain principles and that they follow a dream and vision of happiness based on these principles, and additionally they know and acknowledge the actions necessary to realize this, but they do not perform such actions, instead, embracing the same attitude as ignorant communities, they follow their desires and whims. Just like ignorant cities, in addition to having various forms and having people with behavior no different than that of ignorant cities, mistaken cities also have same morals as ignorant cities. He adds that these two cities are only different with respect to their opinions and principles and therefore people of the mistaken city can never be happy.

As for perverted cities, while their people embrace different principles and ideals than the people of aforementioned ignorant cities, they are in pursuit of happiness other than true happiness, and since they love and adopt a different notion of happiness, they can never attain happiness.<sup>88</sup>

The thinker, who finally mentions the arriviste cities that grow like weed in virtuous cities, lists six different models of cities of this kind. He ends his book by reporting that none of these arriviste cities can form a healthy city, people of this city cannot establish a wide community, consequently they will disappear among the masses of any city.<sup>89</sup>

#### 4. Fusûlü'l-Medenî

Fusûlü'l-Medenî (On the Philosophy of Politics) is another of al-Farabi's works which is solely on the subjects on civilization and philosophy of politics and civilization. Fusûlü'l-Medenî which is composed of 94<sup>90</sup> or 100<sup>91</sup> aphorisms

87 . Farabi, Age, pp. 88 ff.

88 . Farabi, Age, pp. 103-104.

89 . Farabi, Age, pp. 104-107.

90. Fârâbî, *Fusûlu'l-Medenî*, 103-172. Neşr., D. M. Dunlop, *Al-Farabi's Aphorisms of the Statesman*, Cambridge-1961.

91. Fârâbî, *Fusûlun Muntezea*, 23-102. Neşr., Fevzî Mitrî Neccâr, Beyrut-1993.

85 . Farabi, Age, p. 80.

86 . Farabi, Age, p. 87.

and published by Dunlop<sup>92</sup> was translated to Hebrew in 15th century by Joseph ben Schemtob.<sup>93</sup> The thinker who aims to explain the views of past philosophers on the administration and planning of cities/states, on the reformation of the behavior of its people and on providing ways to lead them to happiness, begins his book by telling his views on the Soul. According to him, a physician who wishes to cure the body needs to know of general and particular illnesses occurring to the body, and of the ways to treat these and of the actions that would restore all functions of body. Similarly, an urban (civil) person or a ruler who wishes to treat the spirits needs to know of the people, individually and in groups, and of the virtuous and unvirtuous behaviors manifesting amongst them, and must remove evil amongst the people of the city and replace it with goodness, and needs know of ways to ensure the continuity of this situation<sup>94</sup>.

After providing brief information on objects, and sections and powers of the soul, al-Farabi moves onto the subject of virtues: he first divides virtues in two as moral virtues and intellectual virtues; then he starts explaining how the soul obtains virtues and evil. At this stage, he dwells on the importance of balance. According to him, just as the physician, who practices the art of Medicine, is the person that finds and reveals the balance in nutrition and treatment, the person who finds and reveals the balance in morals and behaviors is the governor or ruler of the city. The discipline which allows the unveiling of such is the art of urbanity (civility) and profession of ruler ship.<sup>95</sup>

Here, al-Farabi proposes a notion called “art of civilization” (es-sinâatü'l-medeniyye) which bears a meaning well beyond its time. Thus, he emphasizes that being civil requires being urban, but travelling to or residing in a city is not sufficient to become urban, and that this is an art, a craft which brings along certain talents and qualities.



*Al-Fârâbî's Oeuvre, Süleymaniye Library*

According to him, with city or household, the ancients did not only refer to a settlement, but referred to all that was encompassed with that settlement and also implied how settlements should have been. Settlements bring out various behaviors and habits in man. For instance, the leather or fiber tents of the desert bring out the persistence and watchfulness of the people living there, and even develops skills of entrepreneurship and gallantry. Solid and sheltered settlements, on the other hand leads to development of feelings of irritation, trust and cowardice. Al-Farabi who states that governors must pay attention to this issue draws parallels between city, household and human body.<sup>96</sup>

The thinker, who then mentions various forms of cities, gives a summary of his views on cities and administrations,

92. Fârâbî, *Fusûlu'l-Medenî*, 172.

93. Moritz Steinschneider, *age.*, 158; Furthermore, D. M. Dunlop, *Fusûlu'l-Medenî* edition foreword (Translated to Turkish by Haneî Özcan), 19.

94. Farabi, *Fusulün Müntezea*, pp. 25-26, publ., Fevzi Mitri Neccar, Beirut-1993.

95. Farabi, *Age*, p. 39.

96. Farabi, *Age*, pp. 40-41.

which he narrated in *el-Medînetü'l-Fâdila* and *es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye* in detail. Moving on to the sections on power of thinking, al-Farabi tells his views on theoretical and practical intellect. In regard to theoretical intellect, he mentions science and wisdom; and mentions some fundamental concepts and notions about practical intellect. While explaining these subjects, he always draws a parallel between physician and city administrator.<sup>97</sup>

In the remainder of the book, he discusses the subject of the virtuous city and in contrast to his two other works, he starts by listing the organs constituting the virtuous city. The thinker, who then moves on to the subjects of justice and cruelty, also briefly mentions warfare. After the problem of being and issue of good and evil, he discusses the subject of happiness.

The thinker, who expresses his opinions on the First Cause (*al-Awwal*) and divine favor towards the end of the book, goes back to the subject of politics and draws attention to the differences between virtuous politics and ignorant politics. After the benefits of theoretical philosophy, he moves on to the subject of intellectual virtues, briefly lists his aforementioned views, and ends his work.

### 5. Achieving Happiness (*Tahsilü's-Saâde*)

Al-Farabi who begins this work of his where we observe that he tried to associate Platonist ethic and Islam ethic concept as it was the case in his previous works he allocated for the issue of civilization stating that the works performed by the human being included four virtues different providing forever happiness in the world and afterlife if realized explains each after stating that they are theoretical, intellectual and ethical virtues. He states that he meant by theoretical virtues the sciences the main objective of which is devising the beings and the contents thereof definitely. According to him, some of those sciences are native in human beings. The individual cannot even be aware of when, where and how he obtains these. These are the knowledge of first principles. And some are obtained by thinking, researching and learning.<sup>98</sup>

The philosopher who continues to examine the issue of how the knowledge of those first principles is obtained later transits to ontology from there. After mentioning four phases of being he gives information about types of being and principles of being. Al-Farabi who discusses human philosophy (Anthropology) later explains what perfection, the basic purpose of existence of human is and how to access this, what obstacles preventing perfection are and how they can be avoided. He states that science providing this is civilized sciences.<sup>99</sup>

According to Al-Farabi, civilized science is the knowledge of things providing each individual of the people of the city in the form of civilized communities (*medine*) to achieve happiness as much as their natality allows. Human understands thanks to this science that civilized communities and the things arising from togetherness of civilized communities in cities (*medine*) all resemble the community of substances in the universe. Human becomes aware of the fact that all of the things that the cities and religious communities own are as the whole of the things that the universe has again thanks to this science.<sup>100</sup>

Just as there is a principle at the beginning in the universe and other principles follow it; other beings arise from those principles and other beings from them and the beings range extends to the last being in the being; similarly there is a first principle where the religious community or city unites and it is followed by other principles. Later the city dwellers (the civilized) come and they are followed by other tracing them in humanity. As a result, it is observed that analogues of all things existing in the universe do exist in the cities as well. This is the theoretical perfection. You see that this perfection contains four types of knowledge using which the nations and city people access endless happiness. After achieving this, the only issue remaining is realizing the four virtues in question actually in accordance with the conditions stipulated by theoretical things in nations and cities.<sup>101</sup>

99. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 122-140

100. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 141-142.

101. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 142-143.

97. Farabi, Age, pp. 50 ff.

98. Al-Farabi, *Tahsilü's-Saade*, p. 119, (Ed., Cafer Alüyasın,) Beyrut-1992.

Al-Farabi who transits from here to the issue of intellectual virtues states that it is an intellectual virtue to find and reveal something more useful for a virtuous purpose. According to him, finding and revealing something more useful for a malicious purpose cannot be deemed virtue although it is an intellectual action, it is necessary to find another name for that. Finding and revealing virtuous things which have joint benefit for all religious communities or one religious community or a city in the best way is only possible through intellectual virtue. This is both an intellectual and a civilized virtue at the same time. The thing which has joint benefit for all religious communities or one religious community or a city sometimes continues for a long time and is eliminated in a short time at other times.

The intellectual virtues through which the thing which has joint benefit for all religious communities or one religious community or a city in the best and most useful manner are either long lasting and permanent or short term and temporary (changeable). If intellectual and civilized virtues are found and revealed from things which have joint benefit for all religious communities or one religious community or a city and which continue for centuries or which change in a short time then those virtues become convenient for law making power. If those virtues are found and revealed from things which have joint benefit for all religious communities or one religious community or a city but change in a short time, then those virtues become convenient for taking temporary measures that could be applied for a certain period of time.<sup>102</sup>

After explaining how to obtain and learn intellectual virtues, Al-Farabi transits to the subject of practical virtues and practical arts. Then, he begins to explain how rulers should make virtues dominant in the societies they administer.<sup>103</sup>

Al-Farabi who states some part of nations and city people are special (havas), and others are common (avam) says İlk Reîs (Primary Ruler) is the special of special (hâssu'l-havâss). For education and training of the common, the majority of

nations and cities, methods of convincing and making dream are used. For people on the way to become special (havas), definite methods providing beings to be devised and based on proof are used.<sup>104</sup>

According to Al-Farabi the oldest science, the science which aims at the most excellent and the top perfection and the most advanced happiness that humans can reach was common among the supposedly Chaldean, the local people of Iraq. It was inherited by the Egyptians and the Greek. And finally it reached to the Arabs by means of Assyrian. While everything that contains this science was written in Greek language originally, then they were translated to Assyrian language and to Arabic. The Greek named this science Wisdom or the greatest Wisdom in its absolute meaning. And they meant to select and love the greatest Wisdom. And they called obtaining it science and making this proficiency Philosophy and the person having it Philosopher. With the word of Philosopher they meant the person who selects and loves the greatest Wisdom. They thought philosophy contained all virtues. They named it as the science and mother of science, art of art.<sup>105</sup>

Al-Farabi who repeated at the end of the work his ideas about philosopher, ruler (melik/king) and imâm emphasizes the concepts of real philosopher and fake philosopher. He states that all those three concepts had the same meaning and all terms that the Muslims used in this regard related to this concept. He stated that if the theoretical and practical virtues mentioned in this book natively existed in the law maker himself it would be called Philosophy and if it existed in the people, it would be called Religion (Nation) and that was the real philosophy and philosopher.<sup>106</sup>

The thinker who later mentions about superstitious, fancy, fake and empty philosophers and philosophies states that the happiness they define are also fake and empty and real philosophy comes to us by means of Aristotle and Plato. For this reason, he ends his work stating that he would exa-

102. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 151 ff.

103. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 178.

104. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 181.

105. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 181-182.

106. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 187-191.

mine philosophies of both philosophers section by section and indicate they joined on the same point.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless he does not discuss this subject here but he writes three independent works named “el-cem’u Beyne Re’yeyi’l-Hakî-meyn”, “Felsefetu Eflâtûn” and Felsefetu Aristotâlis” about the same subject.

## 6. Methods of Achieving Happiness (et-Tenbîhu ala Sebîli’s-Saade)

As it can be understood from its name, Al-Farabi tries to show the ways that take individuals and societies to happiness in the world and afterlife in this work. Three copies of Latin translation of this work which is the best of his works in which Al-Farabi philosophy is best exhibited in terms of both ethical philosophy and understanding of civilization considered to have been performed by Dominicus Gundissalinus or Gerard de Cremona with the name of “Incipit Liber Felicitis” have reached today in Paris (Bibl. Nat. Latin, 6286, f. 21)<sup>108</sup>, Brugges (Bibliothèque Municipale, 424, f., 300-307) and Austria (Bibliothèque des Cistercienses, 152, f. 75)<sup>109</sup> libraries.

The last two scripts were published by Dominique Salman in 1940.<sup>110</sup> And two copies of Hebrew translation which is anonymous have reached today in Oxford (Bodleiana, Michael, 77; Kauffmann, 26).<sup>111</sup>

Al-Farabi who tries to show the ways of achieving happiness in this work following the work of (Tahsîlû’s-Saâde) where he examines the issue of achieving happiness briefly says that happiness can only be achieved through mind and knowledge. Accordingly, being happy (es-Saâde) is a purpose desired directly by all individuals. Any person who takes the way toward happiness with his own efforts does so since he knows it is “perfection”. No other words are required

in order to explain that this is the case because this issue is automatically clear. On the other hand, humans desire all purposes, all perfections only because it has goodness in it. Depending on this, it is beyond doubt that goodness is effective in all purposes and perfections but happiness is one of them as well.<sup>112</sup>

Humans desire happiness not only because it is good but also as it is the best among goods and it is the most wonderful of the perfections that humans want to obtain. Furthermore since we see that we do not need any other thing when we are happy, we accept that it is the most preferable, the biggest and the most perfect “good”. Considering that happiness is in such a position among good things and at the top of humanistic perfections, the person who wants to obtain it is required to know the ways that provide happiness.<sup>113</sup>

Some part of the situations of the person in his life leads to neither praising him nor ridiculing him. And some lead to either praising him or ridiculing him. When it comes to happiness, the person is neither praised nor ridiculed. Because humans may be exposed to praising or ridiculing due to one of the following three situations in all stages of their lives: Firstly, they are praised or ridiculed due to any body actions such as sitting, standing, listening and looking. Secondly they are praised or ridiculed due to spiritual effects happening to the soul including sexual desire, pleasure, joy, anger, fear, desire, mercy, jealousy. Thirdly they are praised or ridiculed due to failure to discriminate the good and the bad using their minds.<sup>114</sup>

For this reason Al-Farabi thinks that it should firstly be explained how actions can be beautified, how spiritual effects are made as they should be and how the power of discrimination could be obtained.

According to him, good and nice acts either arise automatically or unwillingly as a result of compulsion in humans. However such good acts do not make humans happy. Hu-

107. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 191-196.

108. M. T. d’Alvereny, *Archive d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, XXXI, 312.

109. Manuel Alonso, *Traducciones del Arcediano Domingo Gundisalvu (Al-Andalus, XII, 2, Madrid-1947)*, 320.

110. P. H. Salman, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, XII, 33-48, Paris-1940.

111. Abdurrahmân Bedevî, age., II, 495.

112. Al-Farabi, et-Tenbîhu ala Sebîli’s-Saade, p. 227, (Ed., Cafer Alüyasın), Beirut-1992.

113. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 229.

114. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 230.



*A View from Samarkand*

mans become happy only for works they perform voluntarily.<sup>115</sup>

When good morality and “mental power” unite, human virtues arise. Thus we become really good and virtuous, the way we follow become a virtuous way and all our behaviors become such behaviors worth to praise.

Later Al-Farabi begins to research how good morality becomes a habit in humans and how we can internalize the right. And he particularly states that by habit he means making correct and nice things habits that cannot be left or can be left hardly.<sup>116</sup>

According to him, good morality is achieved through learning just as it is the case with different arts. For example,

115. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 231.

116. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 234-235.

calligraphy is only learnt by being trained by calligraphy masters. In order to be a master of calligraphy it is necessary to develop good writing act and make it a habit. Since the ability is in the humans natively before he becomes a master of calligraphy, it becomes actually possible while it was potentially possible. Similarly, good morality becomes actually possible while it was potentially possible since it is in the humans natively before obtaining good morality. The evidence of achieving morality through habits is the situation arising in cities. Rulers make people of cities good people by getting the habit of performing good actions.<sup>117</sup>

So, perfection of human is ethical perfection. The situation of the action that provides achieving ethical perfection is just like the situation of the action that provides perfection of the body. Perfection of the body is being healthy. Health

117. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 236-237.

should be protected when achieved and gained when one is deprived of it and good morality should be protected when achieved and one should try to gain it when it lacks.<sup>118</sup>

Al-Farabi who tells later what good morality is and which actions can be deemed good morality tries to show the ways of achieving good morality. He states that it is necessary to avoid from extremity and find a middle course in order to beautify morality and the method applied in medicine should be applied here exactly and says: "Just as a doctor tries to pull the fever of the body to a point determined as middle point in the art of medicine when it increases or decreases, we are required to detect our positive or negative points in morality issues and pull them to the middle point determined in this book".<sup>119</sup>

So, how will we know that we have pulled our morality to the middle point? We are required to look through whether we easily fulfill the actions we list here short. If we can perform an action we list short we can think that we are on the middle point.<sup>120</sup>

We see that certain persons have the power of good thinking (cevdetü'r-reviyye) and a strong will (kuvvetü'l-azîme) and we made it a habit to call those people as really free people. And we made it a habit to call those people who lack the power of good thinking and a strong will people with animal nature (el-İnsanü'l-behimi).

And we certainly call the persons who have the power of good thinking and who lack slaves.

According to Al-Farabi, since the nice is of two types one of which is knowledge and the other is both knowledge and action, art of philosophy is of two types as well. The first one enables humans to obtain knowledge about the things which humans cannot perform and this is called theoretical philosophy. And the second one enables humans to obtain knowledge about the things which humans can perform and can perform well and this is called practical philosophy

or civil philosophy. Thus Al-Farabi opens the door of a new approach by revealing the relation between philosophy related to practical behaviors and the concept of civilization.

Theoretical philosophy on the other hand contains three types of science: First of these is Mathematics; the second is Physics and the third is Metaphysics. Each of those three sciences covers a being type which is characterized by being known. So the beings which are only characterized by being known have three types.<sup>121</sup>

According to Al-Farabi, Civilized philosophy has two types: One is the knowledge of nice acts and morality that nice acts emanate from and the knowledge of obtaining things that make good morality a habit and virtue for us and these are called moral arts. The second contains the knowledge of things that provide obtaining nice things among the city people or having the power of obtaining and protecting and this is called Political philosophy.

Considering that we can only achieve happiness when we make good things a habit and good things become a habit for us only through philosophy art, it can be concluded that only philosophy can take us to happiness mandatorily. We can achieve this only through good thinking (cevdetü'r-reviyye) ability. And we can achieve good thinking ability by means of power of perceiving the right through mental power.<sup>122</sup>

Al-Farabi who mentions about the significance of thinking power then states that the most special goodness of human is the power of devising, consequently the power of devising is the basic character which makes humans human. He underlines the relation between devising and talking (oration) and states that perfection of talking power realizes with Logic, for this reason logical thinking is the first step on the way of reaching happiness. After underlining significance of words in Logic, he ends the work mentioning about the relation between Logic and Grammar.<sup>123</sup>

118. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 237-238.

119. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 244.

120. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 246.

121. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 256.

122. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 257.

123. Al-Al-Farabi, age., p. 259-264.



*Al-Fârâbî's Oeuvre*

## REFERENCES

Afîfî Zeyneb, *Fesefetü'l-Luğa İnde'l-Fârâbî*, Cairo-1997.

Ahmed Şemseddîn, *el-Fârâbî*, Beirut-1990.

Ali Rıza Sadra, *İlm-i Medenî-i Fârâbî*, Tehran-1387.

André Roman, *Aperçus sur la Naissance de la Langue a Partir du Kitab al-Hurûf d'al-Farabi* (*Studia Islamica*, 92, 127-154), 2001.

Arberry A. J., *Al-Fârâbî's Canons of Poetry*, (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XVII, 267-278), 1938.

Ateş Ahmet, *Bibliography of Al-Fârâbî's Works*. (*Belleten*, 57, 178-192), Istanbul-1951.

- Aydın İbrahim Hakkı, *Theory of Knowledge in Al-Fârâbî*, Istanbul-2001.
- Aydın İbrahim Hakkı, *Metaphysical Thought in Al-Fârâbî*, Istanbul-2000.
- Aydınlı Yaşar, *God-Human Relation in Al-Fârâbî*, Istanbul-2000.
- Baron Rudolphe d'Erlanger, *La Musique Arab I (Grande Traité de la Musique d'Al-Farabi)*, Paris-1930.
- Bayrakdar Mehmet, *Booklet of Al-Fârâbî Named Laws of Poetry Art*, (Ankara University, Journal of Faculty of Theology, XXXVI), Ankara-1997.
- Bayraklı Bayraktar, *State Philosophy in Al-Fârâbî*, Istanbul-1983.
- Colmo Cristopher, *Al-Farabi on the Prudence of Founders (The Review of Politics, 719-741)*, 1998.
- Corcîs Avvâd-Mîhâîl Avvâd, *Râ'idü'd-Dirâse an Ebî Nasr el-Fârâbî*, (el-Mevrid, IV/ 3), 1975.
- Cunbur Müjgân- Binark İsmet- Sefercioğlu Nejat, *Al-Fârâbî Bibliography, Book-Article (For 1100th Anni-versary of his Birth)*, Ankara 1973.
- Dağ Mehmet, *Two Works of Al-Fârâbî*, (Ondokuz Mayıs University, Journal of Faculty of Theology, 14-15, 17-87), 2003. (This issue contains the translations of Al-Fârâbî's works named *Kitâbü'l-Fusûs fi'l-Hikme*, *Uyûnü'l-Mesâ'il fi'l-Mantık* and *Mebâdî'ü'l-Felsefeti'l-Kadîme*.)
- Damien Janos, *Al-Farabi, Creation ex Nihilo and the Cosmological Doctrine of K. Al-Jam' and Jawabat (Journal of the American Oriental Society, 129/1, 1-17)*, 2009.
- Davidson Herbert A., *Alfarabi, and Avicenna on the Active Intellect*, (Viator, III, 109-178), 1972.
- Davidson Herbert A., *Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect and Theories of Human Intellect*, New York-1992.
- Davidson Herbert A., *Maimonides, Shemonah Peraqim and Al-farabi's Fusul el Madani*, (American Academy for Jewish Research, 31, 33-50), 1963.
- Dominique Mallet, *Al-Farabi, Deux Traités Philosophique*, Damascus-1989.
- Druart Th. A., *Al-Fārābī and Emanationism*, (Studies in Medieval Philosophy, 23-43, ed. John F. Wippel), Washington, DC, 1987.
- Druart Th. A., *Al-Fārābī on the Practical and Speculative Aspects of Ethics, Moral and Political Philosophies in the Middle Ages*, Ottova 1995.
- Druart Th. A., *Al-Fārābī, Ethics and First Intelligibles*, (Documents Etudi Sulla Tradizione Filozofica Me-dieval, VIII), 1997.
- Eckhard Neubauer, *Die Theorie vom Îqâ, I. Übersetzung des Kitâb al-Îqâ'ât von Abû Nasr Al-Fârâbî*, (Oriens, 21-22, 196-232), 1968-69.
- Eckhard Neubauer, *Die Theorie vom Îqâ, II. Übersetzung des Kitâb Îhsâ'al-Îqâât von Abû Nasr Al-Fârâbî*, (Oriens, 34), 1994.
- el-Acem Refîk, *el-Mantık fî Eb'âdihî'l-İslâmiyye ve'l-Arabiyye beyne'l-Fârâbî ve'l-Gazzâlî*, (el-Ebhâs, XXXV, 21-52), 1987.
- Esin Emel, *Culture and Art of Turkish Location Kengeres which Raised Al-Fârâbî*, (Journal of Institute of Islamic Researches, VI/3-4), 1976.
- Fahrî Mâcid, *Felsefetü'l-Fârâbî el-Hulkıyye ve Sılatühâ bi'l-Ahlâkî'n-Nikomahya*, (el-Ebhâs, XXXVIII, 41-61), 1990.
- Fahrî Mâcid, *Mantıku Aristo Beyne'l-Fârâbî ve İbn Rüşd*, (el-Ebhâs, XL 107-128), 1992.
- Fahrî Mâcid, *Ta'âlîku İbn Bâcce alâ Kitâbi Îsâgûcî li'l-Fârâbî*, (el-Ebhâs, XXIII, 33-52), Beirut 1970,
- Fakhry Majid, *Al-Fārābī, Founder of Islamic Neoplatonism: His Life, Works and Influence*, Glasgow-2002.
- Farmer Henry George, *Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translations*, (İSİS, XIII), 1930.
- Farmer Henry George, *Historical Fact for the Arabian Musical Influence*, Cambridge-1930.
- Farmer Henry George, *Studies in Oriental Musical*, Cambridge-1932.

Farmer Henry George, *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory*, Cambridge-1925.

Farmer Henry George, *The Influence of Al-Farabi's İhsa'al'Ulum (De Scientiis) on the writers on Music in Western Europe*, (JRAS, III, 561-592), 1932.

Frederic Woerther, *L'Inpretation de l'Ethos Aristotelien par Al-Farabi* (Journal of the History of Rhetoric, 26/4, 392-416), 2008.

Freudenthal Gad, *Ketav ha Da'at or Sfer ha-Sekel we-ha-Nuskalot: the Medieval Hebrew Translation of Al-Farabi's Risāle fi'l-Aql. A Study in Text History and in the Evolution of Medieval Hebrew Philosophical Terminology* (The Jewish Quarterly Review, 93/1-2, 29-115), 2002.

Galston M., *Politics and Excellence: The Political Philosophy of Alfārābī*, Princeton-1990.

Hasan Melikşâhî, *Terüme-i es-Siyâsetü'l-Medeniyye*, Tehran-1389.

Hayrullaev M. M., *Abu Nasr al-Farabi*, Moscow-1982.

Hayrullaev M. M., *Forobi Ruhi Protsestar va Talim Tarbiya Toğrisida*, Tashkent-1967.

Hayrullaev M. M., *Forobi va Oning Falsafi Risalalari*, Uzbekistan SSR Fanlar Akademiyası Naşriyeti, Tash-kent-1963.

Hayrullaev M. M., *Forobi*, Tashkent-1991.

Hayrullaev M. M., *Mirovozzrenie Farabi i Ego Mesto v İstorii Filosofii*, Tashkent-1968.

Hüseyin Alî Mahfûz-Ca'fer Âlû Yâsîn, *Mü'ellesâtü'l-Fârâbî*, Bagdat-1975.

İbn Tufeyl, *Hayy ibn Yakzân*, (Neşr., Alber Nasri Nader), Beirut-1989.

İsrael Efros, *Palqueras Hokmah and Alfarabi's İhsa al-Ulum*, (The Jewish Quarterly Review, 25/3, 227-235), 1935.

Kabîr Ahmad Khân, *A Select Bibliography of Writings on al-Fārābī*, (English, Muslim World Book Review, XIII/2, 56-61), 1993.

Kaya Mahmut, *Fârâbî*, (DİA, XII, 145-162).

Keklik Nihat, *History of Islamic History and Al-Fârâbî Logic I-II*, Istanbul 1969-1970.

Küyel Mübahat, *Al-Fârâbî as a Source of the History of Philosophy and of its Definition*, (Memorials of International Pre-Ottoman Turkish Culture Congress, 125-138), Ankara-1997.

Küyel Mübahat, *Al-Fârâbî, Hikmet and Kutadgu Bilig*, (Erdem VII/ 20, 375-470), 1991.

Küyel Mübahat, *The Idea of Escaping from the Society and Returning to the Society In Al-Fârâbî*, (XII. Memorials of Turkish History Congress, 505-518), Ankara-1999.

Küyel Mübahat, *Philosophy In Pre-Islamic Turks as a Preparation for Al-Fârâbî*, (Kutadgubilig, III, 9-58), 2003.

Lameer J., *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian Syllogistics*, Leiden-1994.

Langhade Jacques, *Du Coran à la Philosophie: La Theorie Linguistique de Farabi*, Damas-1996.

Madkûr İbrâhîm, *Ebû Nasr el-Fârâbî*, (Mecelletü Külliyyeti'l-Âdâb, XIX/2, 69-91), Cairo-1957.

Madkûr İbrahim, *La Place d'al-Fârâbî dans l'Ecole Philosophique Musulmane*, Paris-1934.

Mahdi Muhsin, *Alfarabi Against Philoponos*, (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 26, 233-260), 1967

Mahdi Muhsin, *Alfarabi et Averroès: Remarques sur le Commentaire d'Averroès sur la République de Platon*, (Multiple Averroès: Actes du Colloque Internationale, 91-103), Paris-1978..

Mahdi Muhsin, *Alfārābī*, (History of Political Philosophy, 182-202), Chicago-1987.

Mahdi Muhsin, *Al-Fārābī's Imperfect State*, (Journal of the American Oriental Society, CX/4, 691-726), 1990.

Massignon Louis, *Notes sur le Texte Original Arabe du "De Intellectu" d'al-Farabi*, Paris-1986.

Michot J., *Tables de Correspondance des "Ta'liqāt" d'Alfārābī, des "Ta'liqāt" d'Avicenne et du "Liber Aph-orismorum" d'Andrea Alpago*, (Revue de Synthèse, XV, 231-249), 1982.

Netton Richard, *Al-Farabi and his School*, London-1992.

Rescher Nicholas, *Al-Fârâbî: An Annotated Bibliography*, Pittsburgh-1962.

Sayılı Aydın, Al-Fârâbî and His Place in the History of Thought, (Belleten, XV/57), Ankara-1951.

Shiloah A., The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings, München-1979.

Steinschneider M., Al-Fārābî, des Arabischen Philosophen, Leben und Schriften, St. Pétersbourg 1869. II. Baskı, Amsterdam-1966

Strauss, Leo, How Farabi Read Plato's Laus, Turkish translation, Burhanettin Tatar, Al-Fârâbî's Style of Reading Plato's Laws, (Political Hermeneutic, 139-158), Samsun-2000.

Stroumsa S., Al-Fārābî and Maimonides on the Christian Philosophical Tradition, (Der Islam, LXVIII, 263-287), 1991.

Sweeney Michael J., Aquinas on Limits to Political Responsibility for Virtue: A Comparison to Al-Farabi, (The Review of Metaphysics, 62/4, 819-847), 2009.

Sweeney Michael J., Philosophy and Jihad: Al-Farabi on Compulsion to Happiness (The Review of Meta-physics 60/3, 543-572), 2007.

Tülücü Süleyman- Aydın İbrahim Hakkı, Certain Additions to Al-Fârâbî Bibliography, (Turkish Culture Researches, XXXIII/1-2, 255-286), 1995.

Ulutan, Burhan, Al-Fârâbî Philosophy, Turkish World Researches Center, Istanbul 2000,

Woerther Frederique, L'Interpretation de l'Ethos Aristotelien par Al-Farabi, (Rethorica, 26/4), 392-416, 2008.

Zimmermann, F. W., Al-Fārābî's Commentary and Short Treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione, Oxford-1981.



Another view from Al-Fârâbî's Grave located today in Babü's-Sağır Cemetery in Damascus